

THE

Hindustan Review.

Edited by SACHICHIDANANDA SINHA, Barr-at-Law.

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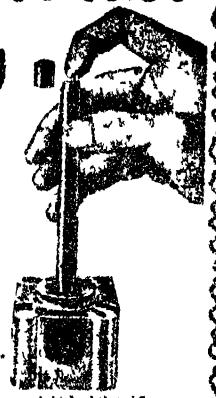
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INDIAN HIGHER EDUCATION : A CRITICISM.—II.

BY THE REV. PROF. C. F. ANDREWS, M.A.

IN my last paper I dealt with some of the main difficulties experienced in applying the recognized general principles of education to the special conditions of India. I tried to show that the problems confronting Indian Higher Education, as regulated by the State, centred round the two factors of the employment of English as the medium of instruction, and the adoption of a fixed policy of exclusion of religious teaching. A third factor, I pointed out, has already made its appearance and may lead to very serious results, namely, the banishment of politics from the higher educational field. In this paper I propose to leave on one side the considerations which arise from these extremely important factors, and confine myself to what may be called improvements of method. The subject is more technical, but I shall try as far as possible to avoid technical details and keep to broad issues which can be easily understood.

The first criticism of method which I should make,—a criticism which, as yet, I have not seen mentioned in Indian reviews—is this, that those who may be called the 'honours' men are at present almost entirely sacrificed to the exigencies of the 'pass' men, and are not given a full opportunity to cultivate their special talents. As a consequence the ablest men of the younger generation do not receive such an individual and personal training as would best bring out and develop their innate capacities. Ability works its way to the front in India, as it will do everywhere, but it is not encouraged to the full and treated in an exceptional way, as a special treasure. This is a very serious matter indeed, for the highest progress of the nation depends ultimately upon the recognized leadership of the men of highest ability. Every effort therefore ought to be made during College days to make such men as well-trained, as original, and as sound and

accurate in their special branch of knowledge as possible. The whole field of modern knowledge grows larger and larger and the future will lie more and more in the hands of the specialists. These alone can keep the standard high in their special subjects and lead to an advance all along the line.

Let me explain the present method and point out its defects. So far as I have ascertained, there is, at present, in no Indian University a clear and definite separation between the 'pass' and 'honours' men. The only distinction is this, that the latter add a few more books to their numerous courses and take a few more papers. They do all the 'pass' work, and a little more. They attend the same lectures, they go through the whole dull grind of 'pass' work,—and then they read a little further for themselves, and get a little extra help, out of lecture hours, from their Professors. There is no 'honours' examination marked out separately for them and them alone; there are rarely even separate lectures given for them. They have to go in with the average, and, as a direct consequence, are not infrequently reduced to the average in intellectual achievement. Furthermore,—and this is a very important point—the multiplicity of subjects, which they are obliged to take, tends to check at every stage their advance in some one special subject, for which they have a special taste and inclination. They have not the time to specialize, and they now and then actually neglect the congenial subject, in which they are certain to pass, in order to qualify in uncongenial subjects for which they have no aptitude and in which they may fail.

Let me sketch out, by way of contrast, an 'honours' student's career at Oxford or Cambridge. I must state clearly before doing so, that I do not at all wish to imply that Indian Education should be made a mere copy of the West. Those who have read my first article will not so misjudge me. I only bring forward this example from English Higher Education, because it appears to me to embody principles which are universally true of higher education whether in India, or elsewhere.

In England, even before the 'honours' student reaches the University, he has been singled out for special treatment. If, for instance, he takes classics, he comes, even in school days, under the personal guidance of a Composition Master, set apart for that purpose; if he takes History, he receives personal tuition in History, and the same is true of Mathematics and Science. While the average boy remains in class work, pure and simple, the 'honours' student is constantly receiving special teaching and special guidance. What is still more important he is taught to work for himself, and to puzzle out his own problems. During certain periods each day he is left entirely free to

do his own work, and this faculty of independent work becomes one of the best means of evoking original talent.

When the student at last comes to College this special treatment is intensified. From the moment he begins his University life, his lectures, his tuition, his examinations are divided off from those of the 'pass' student. He attends far fewer lectures than the latter,—indeed, one or two lectures a day are often quite sufficient for his purpose. But on the other hand he has his Tutor to whom he can go with personal difficulties in reading, and for the correction of his own original work. He utilizes this personal help to the full. The closest touch is thus obtained with the Teacher who is set apart for his own special subject —a touch which is as inspiring as it is stimulating, both to Tutor and pupil.

There is all the difference in the world between five or six years thus spent in specializing in some wholly congenial subject, with the personal aid of a Teacher, who is himself a Specialist, and the same period employed in attending six or seven lectures each day, on all sorts of subjects, as a member of a class of some sixty or seventy students, with scarcely an hour's personal touch throughout the week with the Professor alone. It is true that such specialization has its dangers. It may be carried too far and it is unfitted for the average student of poor ability, whose original basis of knowledge is not broad or deep. But given the picked students to teach and inspire, there can be scarcely any educational effort more worth making. A stamp is left upon such students, which is unmistakable, and they become marked men in after life.

The complaint is constantly made that so few Indian students attempt original work, or take up special branches of knowledge, such as historical research, etc., after they have left the University. The fault, I am convinced, lies not so much in the students as in the system, which continually tends to reduce all pupils to one dead level. My own experience in teaching, both in England and India, bears this out. I do not find among Indian students any lack of brain capacity,—rather the reverse; but while in England I had every opportunity of close personal contact with the scholars and exhibitioners of the College, and could spend hours with them individually each week,—finding out their strong and weak points and endeavouring to stimulate them to original enquiry,—here in India, on the other hand, I am tied down to give four or five lectures a day of a general character to a large number of students, and have only the smallest opportunity of close personal contact with the best men. Even if I could afford to give them the special time for personal tuition, they have themselves various other subjects to distract their attention, and are in no position

to specialize. Except for M. A. students, College work under present conditions is bound to take the form of general instruction, and the Lecturer aims at reaching the mean point, at which his own teaching will not be too elementary for the 'honours' men, or too advanced for the 'pass' men.

It is true that changes, if changes are contemplated, must be gradual. We must not attempt to run before we can walk. In the Panjab, where higher education is still in a backward condition, we have only just reached the stage of adding a few extra 'honours' papers to the regular B. A. examinations. An honours 'school' must develop step by step. We must again take care not to do anything which would tend to the comparative neglect of the 'pass' men. These, for a long time to come, must form the bulk of our students and their claims cannot be disregarded. At the same time we ought already to be working steadily towards a complete system, which should be to the best interest of both types of men.

At the outset, however, the previous question may be raised,—Is not the expense itself prohibitive? Would not the change mean a large increase of staff and raising of stipends? Let me first dispose of this objection, before going on to make constructive proposals. My answer would be, that Indian Higher Education is not a mere toy to play with, but a matter of life and death to the future Indian Nation. To sacrifice efficiency to cheapness in such a matter is suicidal. The nation that will not make supreme efforts for education in modern times, is short-sighted and indolent. Englishmen themselves, in spite of enormous advantages and large endowments in the past, are falling behind in this very matter, and will very soon be overtaken by Germany, America and Japan, if they do not take more pains. While there were certain points in Lord Curzon's Indian educational policy which called for criticism, I have no sympathy whatever with that foolish popular cry against the costliness of the efficiency he promoted. A deep debt of gratitude is owed to Lord Curzon that he has forced us at last, even if somewhat violently, out of that rut of cheap inefficiency, in which we should still be lumbering along, had he not given us the push we needed so badly. Take the case, for instance, of my own city of Delhi, where we had two affiliated Arts Colleges, both of which were inefficient on important sides, according to any decent modern standard. Then came Lord Curzon's Act. What has been the result? In the last three years we have both been compelled, under the threat of dis-affiliation, to undertake improvements, amounting in all to nearly two lakhs of rupees. All these will be carried through without increasing the cost of education for any Delhi student by a single penny. The younger generation in Delhi will get a far superior

education at exactly the same cost. This change for the better has been universal in our Province. Only the other day I was talking with a member of the Panjab University Commission, which had just been the round of all the Colleges. He told me that in every single College which they had visited, large additions and improvements had been made, and the difference between the Colleges to-day and five years ago was enormous. He added that, as far as he had ascertained, the monthly fees for tuition and residence had not increased. It is evident therefore that when efficiency is insisted upon, and Government aid is forthcoming, efficiency can be obtained. Having disposed therefore of this objection it now remains to consider what are the best steps to be taken.

For a complete system, on the principles sketched out above, there should be a definite 'pass' examination on the one hand, and an 'honours' examination on the other. There would, in such a system, be no common papers for the two classes of students. The courses of study would be separate and the lectures separate.

But it may well be the case that we are not yet, especially in the more backward Universities, ready for such a drastic change as this would involve, and that we could not divide the students into two separate schools of learning, without injury to those who were men of average ability. A measure of reform which would come more within the scope of practical politics, and lead up to further changes, might be to make the B. A. Course for all a 'special' examination. Let general studies, with a certain amount of specialisation, be continued up to the F. A. standard, and then let each student choose, for his last two years, the one special subject in which he would wish to be examined. The 'one subject' should in each case be a broad one and give no encouragement to pedantry or narrowness; on the contrary it should be important enough to make in itself a special branch of knowledge worthy of an Indian student's concentrated attention. 'English' would not be counted as such a special subject, but would be the instrument, as it were, by means of which modern education was acquired. A practical, working knowledge of English would be demanded from every student, but a literary and poetical knowledge would not. This important distinction will be explained more fully later. The 'honours' student would take a more advanced course in the one subject chosen. Gradually as 'honours' men became more numerous and reached a higher standard, an 'honours' school separate from a 'pass' school would grow up and become a necessity. Then a further and clearer separation of different courses might be made.

An objection to such a 'one subject' scheme has already been mentioned, namely, that even at the B. A. stage the average Indian

student's general knowledge is so small, that specialization would be like a superstructure built upon too narrow a basis. There is much truth in this, but at the same time there are advantages on the other side, and if a general simplification of subjects all round would lead to an improvement in the quality of the teaching—the Professor having the students' whole time in the B. A. stage, instead of only a fraction of it—then even though theoretically a more general course might be preferable for the 'pass' men, yet practically specialization might lead to more careful tuition and so produce better results. The teachers of the special subjects for the B. A. course would not be able to divide their time over the whole College as they do at present,—they would be obliged to give themselves up to the Third and Fourth years—and this would add so much of the personal touch to higher education, even among the 'pass' men, that it might well outweigh other considerations. With regard to the 'honours' men, there can be little question that the scheme would be an almost unmixed gain. They would be set free to devote the whole of their time to the one subject which they desired to study, and would get an increased amount of personal tuition into the bargain.

As any such proposal as I have made concerning the B. A. examination would imply considerable changes in the earlier examinations also, it will be well to sketch out roughly the different subjects that would be taken at each stage, so that the scheme may be judged as a whole on its own merit. I leave out for the moment in my sketch the vexed question of the vernaculars.

For University Matriculation I should make a working knowledge of English compulsory, together with Mathematics, History, Geography and one Classical Language. One extra subject would also be taken according to the pupil's own choice. Additional Mathematics might count as such an extra, also additional History or additional Classics, but not additional English. Elementary Science could be an extra subject; but I would not put it on the compulsory list.

For the Intermediate Examination, I should make a working knowledge of English again compulsory, together with Mathematics, History and one Classical language. One extra subject would be taken according to the pupil's own choice. Such extras would be Additional Mathematics, History, Classics, Science and Philosophy would also be allowed to count as 'extras', but neither would be compulsory.

Up to this point the student who intended to read for his B. A. degree would be acquiring general knowledge. He would have a working knowledge of English and also a fair knowledge of the main branches of an elementary 'Arts' course, *viz.*, Mathematics,

History and Classics. But still further he would be able, at each stage, to carry his own special subject of study one step further. The earlier examinations therefore, while general in character, would lead on to specialisation at the final stage.

For the Bachelor of Arts Examination, I would have a working knowledge of English alone as compulsory. Apart from English, one subject and one only would be taken. The subjects should be broad, and of real educational value. I should count as one subject each of the following pairs :—

‘Pure and Applied Mathematics’, ‘History and Economics’, ‘Psychology and Ethics,’ ‘Arabic and Persian’, ‘Sanskrit and Prakrit (or Pali).’

The Master of Arts Examination would remain as it is at present, a special examination. In it however Pure Mathematics, Applied Mathematics, Arabic, Persian, History, Economics, Sanskrit, Pali, would each count as one subject and not be grouped in pairs. I would also grant the M. A. degree without examination to any Honours B. A., who produced a thesis showing original work of distinct ability, properly safeguarding, of course, the originality of the work done.

In order to be perfectly plain in a somewhat technical and complicated matter, it may be well to sketch out the syllabus of study of a typical student,—for instance, one who had a taste for Sanskrit. He would be obliged to take English, Mathematics, History and Geography in his Matriculation, and would naturally specialize in Sanskrit. In his Intermediate he would be obliged to take English, Mathematics and History, and would specialize again in Sanskrit. But in his B. A. Examination his whole time would be given to Advanced Sanskrit, with the exception of what was spent in continuing his English.

The basis of knowledge would thus be kept fairly broad, and yet some specialisation would be encouraged. Even the ‘pass’ man would have a fair acquaintance with one subject. Whatever truth there is in the criticism of our present system, that it leaves our students with a mere smattering of useless knowledge of many subjects, would be obviated.

The addition to the staff that such a ‘special’ course would necessitate would be comparatively small, and it should be noticed that such additions would go to the B. A. classes. This would be a boon, as has already been pointed out, to the ‘pass’ men, but it would be an even greater boon to the ‘honours’ men, who would get in this way what they most of all need, namely, personal tuition. The efficiency gained would far outweigh the cost. In time our Colleges would produce men who were so deeply interested in their one special subject, that they would desire to continue its study after their College

days were over. There would also be, in all probability, a marked increase in the number of those who would stay on at College and read for their M. A. degree in the special subject, for which they had gained an aptitude and a liking. In this and other ways the intellectual level of our Colleges might be raised.

There are certain points which for the moment have been left unexplained in sketching out the above scheme. To these I now turn.

I have spoken above of 'a working knowledge of English.' Let me explain my meaning a little further, as this is a matter of primary importance. There are two uses in India to which the study of English may be put. First, there is the acquirement of the language for practical purposes. It is the door to higher modern knowledge to-day in India and in order to study any subject on modern lines a working knowledge of English is essential. But to use English thus as an instrument of knowledge, it is not necessary to read high English Classics, such as Bacon or Carlyle; above all it is unnecessary to be acquainted with all types of English poetry from Chaucer to Browning. What is needed is continual practice in composition, an intelligent appreciation of English words, phrases and constructions, and a facility in reading rapidly and clearly understanding lucid modern English prose. This is what I mean by 'a working knowledge of English.' In order to test such knowledge, examinations would be far more on the lines of essay writing, composition, paraphrasing, etc., and far less on the lines of text-book commentaries with elaborate notes.

Secondly, there is a literary knowledge of English, which can only be obtained by reading the English Classics for their style, subject matter, ideas and literary excellence. By such study the student would obtain a first-hand appreciation of the style and sentiments of Burke, the rhythm and cadence of Shelley,—to take examples that come at once to the mind. For this second use of 'English,' text books with notes, commentaries with explanations of the authors' ideas, literary histories with accounts of different writers, etc., are clearly needed and examination questions would be set accordingly. Such a literary study of English might be of great value for a few Indian students, who have high literary tastes and wish to study the literature of the West. But such a study is quite unnecessary for the mastery of English as an instrument by means of which historical or scientific English books may be read. Once more, it is quite unnecessary for the practical services of modern life,—for business, commerce, office work, etc. The bulk of Englishmen themselves do not know their Shelley or Carlyle—why should Indians have to learn them? They would be much more profitably employed in studying the history, philosophy and classics of their own country.

It is true a Rash Behari Ghose or a Surendra Nath Banerjea may become Masters of English literary style and show what wonderful powers of appropriation and assimilation exist in Bengal. But there is no need whatever for the whole Indian educated community to attempt this feat. Indeed such attempts can only lead to denationalization, when practised, not by master minds, but by men of ordinary talents.

It therefore appears to me extremely important to limit the study of English to what is practically useful, and to remodel all English examinations with this end in view. English should be learnt in a modern way, just as business Englishmen or Japanese learn German or French. Formal grammar would almost disappear,—for English is not a synthetic language like Sanskrit and has no more grammar than Hindustani. Phrases, constructions, language idioms, etc., would assume a prominent place; and good, simple, accurate composition on the one hand, and intelligent paraphrasing on the other, would be the final test of proficiency. 'English Literature'—an entirely different subject—might indeed be made a 'special' subject for the B.A. (to be taken instead of Sanskrit or Persian or Arabic) but I should foresee dangers in allowing even this, and would not advocate it, lest it should tempt men to desert more profitable and 'national' subjects for a study which, after all is said and done, must remain foreign and exotic.

To turn to another point, it will be noticed that I have not included Science in the proposed Bachelor of Arts' course, and that, for the obvious reason that 'Science' is not 'Art.' The Bachelors' course should be entirely free from Experimental Science subjects. They should be handed over entirely to the Science Faculty, and made the subjects for a Bachelor of Science or a Bachelor of Medicine degree. This would naturally be followed by the degree of Master of Science on the one hand, and Doctor of Medicine on the other.

With the Law Examinations, it would certainly be best to continue the present practice of demanding a Bachelor of Arts degree, before the Law Examinations are taken. The full Arts training is necessary in order to make the basis of knowledge broad enough for Law and the general education given, especially if 'History and Economics' is taken as the special subject, would be found invaluable in after-life.

A tendency is noticeable to-day in India to encourage degrees for 'Training in Teaching' without the University course being a requisite. Such encouragement is to be deprecated. A teacher who is trained in teaching without a good foundation of general knowledge and

residence in a University is likely to become stereotyped in a few years and to make his training course a fetish instead of an aid to teaching. Probably in no profession is the Arts' course more profitable, and the University life an asset of greater value, than in the Teaching profession. Yet the present inducements to a University graduate to become a Teacher are most meagre. Our schools are at present staffed for the most part by non-graduates, and as a consequence the College atmosphere and Collego *esprit de corps* have to be learnt from the beginning when students leave school. The Schools do not lead up to the Colleges and both suffer. If on the other hand, a large proportion of the trained Teachers in our schools were University men, there would be no great gulf fixed between College and School days. Corporate life and discipline would be much easier of attainment in Colleges and a broader outlook would be more manifest in schools.

I turn, last of all, to the vexed question of the vernaculars, and in this matter I confess that I am still groping in the dark for a solution. The difficulty is not indeed very serious in those parts of India, where all the students speak the same mother tongue and that tongue has a noble literature of its own. It would be comparatively simple, for instance, to carry on education up to an advanced stage in the vernacular in Bengal, since Bengali might soon be made an admirable vehicle of higher as well as primary education, and its literature is a worthy subject of study and it is itself a noble medium for composition. The same might apply to other parts of India and other vernaculars. But there are many large areas of India,—hercina lies the great difficulty,—that are polyglot and have no common language,—districts in which examinations in five or six different languages would have to be set, districts in which one vernacular shades off into another, in which the towns and villages employ different dialects, in which one religion differs in language from another. How is the vernacular to be used as a vehicle of education in these? I found this year a primary school in the Hills, where the education was supposed to be given in the vernacular, but the vernacular Hindustani of the text books was entirely different to the Pahari which the boys themselves spoke. Hindustani was practically for them a foreign language.

Again, as literary studies, vernaculars present great difficulties. Think, for instance, how a Sanskrit-reading Hindu is handicapped in making a language study of Hindustani as literature, compared with a Persian and Arabic-reading Muhammadan! Both may be able to speak Hindustani well, but the Muhammadan will know the Persian and Arabic roots and constructions of literary Hindustani far better than the Hindu. On the other hand, think how a Muhammadan might be penalized who was obliged to take Hindi or Bengali for literary study, but did not know a word of Sanskrit! Think again of a College Class, in which translation has to be set in 3 or 4 languages and corrected by

various teachers—for instance, Panjabi, Hindi, Hindustani and Bengali ! Still further, what is to be done with vernaculars that have little or no literature ? Where is the broad division to be made ? In the North, for instance, what is to be the place of Pashtu or Kashmiri ?

Again, India is endeavouring to become united, and to form one single great Nation. This would appear only possible with some common language of the people spoken in every part of the land. In the United States there are large numbers of Hungarians, Poles, Germans, Italians, French, etc., but these all learn English and there is only one vernacular. The problem of education is simplified by the use of a common language. In Japan again the problem is simple because everyone can speak Japanese and the language is flexible enough and literary enough to allow of translations of all modern Western books. But in India religious, social, racial difficulties come in at once, as soon as ever any proposal is made that one vernacular should predominate. Muhammadans would rather die than sacrifice their own language,—so intimately connected with their religion,—Hindustani. The Bengali, however zealous and earnest a Hindu, could not bear to sacrifice his own expanding and flourishing Bengali literature in order to speak and write Hindi. The Southern languages, such as Tamil, are different in construction, roots and idioms from the Northern. Are they to be sacrificed also ? Amid all these difficulties and confusions and anomalies, English comes in, not as ideally best but as second best, not as satisfactory but as least unsatisfactory, not probably as the final solution but as the present solution of racial, social and religious divisions. It has the great advantages of being the language of the governing power, the language of the world's commerce, the common language of educated India, the immediate key to modern knowledge and science. It has the great disadvantage of being a foreign, Western tongue. With some to-day this single disadvantage would override all possible advantages. I should be inclined to agree with them, if they could suggest a serviceable substitute. But that is just what no one seems inclined to do.

Perhaps all that can be done is to go slowly and steadily forward, encouraging the larger literary vernaculars and then wait for the development of events. Far more could be accomplished meanwhile in the way of teaching through the vernaculars, especially in the elementary stages. More also could be done at the later stages to foster vernacular writing and translation. But even steps such as these will meet with much opposition from Indians themselves, and progress will be very gradual. Still, it may happen that little by little the greater languages of India will oust the smaller ones, and the languages which have no growing literature will die of atrophy, and so at last, by the law of the survival of the fittest, only four or five great languages and literatures will remain in use. Then the problem would be simpler. English might give place altogether, and its literature be studied only by the few. But at present, one must confess, that to teach higher education through the vernacular, in 'Oriental' Colleges, has proved to be a failure, and that in our own generation English must remain least open to objection as the instrument and vehicle of acquiring modern knowledge.

MODERN ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY.—I*.

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In our lecture yesterday we considered very briefly the scope and method of Political Economy. We said that the central fact of Political Economy is Man. We study his *wants* and his *activities* to satisfy those wants, chiefly in society ; and we take Man as he is, the whole man, though we concentrate special attention on particular aspects of man's activity. Wealth occupies the important place it does in our study, not because Economists regard it the only good, but because it furnishes a convenient and practical instrument for measuring human motives. The gibe of the over-enthusiastic and hasty moralist that Political Economy is the "gospel of mammon" is pointless ; the wrathful dismissal of the study as 'dismal' by Carlyle was based on an impatience to examine carefully the teachings of the great economists. However, the intensely human aspect of our science has received special emphasis during the last fifty years owing to a variety of causes chief among which is the rise of that group of problems associated with labour. Economists now make a larger study of "human character and opportunities for development" and the influence of "standard of living" on the efficiency of labour than they did before. The credit of pioneering this work belongs to the great American economist Walker whose study of the wages question marks an epoch in the history of economic thought. And as Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* summed up with great literary skill and power of exposition the views of the early English school, Professor Marshall in his *Principles of Economics* with its motto of "Natura non fit Saltum, presents a completely balanced treatment of the subject, retaining all that is good in the old though modifying it in the light of recent advances in thought, and keeping before his mind throughout his work with marvellous genius all the intricate aspects of man's complex social life.

In our last lecture we also considered briefly the discussions that have raged on the proper method of inquiry, and we showed that the old controversies are disappearing and there is no danger now of "the waves of disputation submerging the really sound and valuable results of previous thought." There is now a fairly general agreement among economists that the difference between the two methods of

* The lecture is here given exactly as originally delivered, which will account for its peculiarities of language. It forms part of a course which is being delivered by the Lecturer as University Lecturer in Economics.—(Ed. H. R.)

“deduction” and “induction” is only one of degree; the two are not distinct, but do really supplement each other—both facts and guiding principles being necessary for the growth of a Science; but that the two no doubt are to be used in various proportions in the course of different inquiries.

This is the brief summary of our lecture of yesterday. To-day, we are going to examine the chief characteristics of “the modern organization of industry” confining our attention mainly to Western countries. In India, though we have been for a hundred years or more a most favourable market where the products of modern industrial activity have been sold, we do not yet possess any widespread system of “industrial organization” of the western type. Handicrafts still flourish in India—perhaps I should not say *flourish*—rather the hand-craftsmen still ply their small work; the domestic system of business still continues. What is more, our main industry is agriculture; nearly 70 per cent. of the vast population of India depends directly or indirectly upon agriculture as their chief means of subsistence; and it is obvious that the special features of “capitalistic industry” are not possible in agriculture anywhere to any large extent, and hardly at all in India with our small farms and want of resources among the agriculturists. In spite of the fact that factories were established in Bombay and one or two other big towns so far ago as the fifties, the number of factories in India is still very small, and such as it is, is largely the result of very recent development. The dominant characteristic of modern industrial organization is the large and ever-increasing part that Capital plays in production; and when we consider the insufficiency of capital in our country, we have no cause for surprise for the slow growth of factories here. We are not going to consider here the causes of this lack of sufficient business capital in India, while the general loan fund of the world is increasing every day: but it is necessary to remark here one cause as it is an important feature of the western industrial organization of the day. The system of credit in India is still in a very rudimentary stage, and therefore the existing capital of the land is not available for industrial purposes. It is clear, therefore, that when we speak of modern industrial organization, we have to turn to the West for our study. This study is of great importance to the student of economics generally, but particularly to us in India, for our industries and business are beginning to take the modern and Western shape. We ought therefore to see in what directions the modern organization with its recent developments has been a success in the West, and in what ways it has been a source of danger. We have much to learn from the West in adopting their methods in our country—they can give us great guidance by which we can avoid serious mistakes.

At any rate for students of Political Economy, it is of the utmost importance to study the chief characteristics of the modern system of industrial organization, for much of our argument in the various fields of economic inquiry would turn upon considerations suggested by this analysis, and a proper understanding of the writings of the great economists requires a knowledge of the industrial conditions which prevailed around them. One of the chief contributions which Adam Smith has made to the Science of Economics—a contribution which together with his treatment of finance will remain perhaps the most permanent part of the work of the English Classical School,—is contained in the first book of the *Wealth of Nations* : “ of the causes of improvement in the productive powers of labour, and of the order according to which its produce is naturally distributed among the different ranks of the people.”

Adam Smith lived at the eve of the Industrial Revolution when labour was being minutely divided. Malthus lived when the new movement was rapidly revolutionising the whole range of English industries, and Ricardo's work came out when the Revolution had done its work, and the forces of competition were powerful enough to lend undoubted plausibility to the assumptions which underlie his work. As Bagehot has pointed out Political Economy, in the writings of Ricardo, is the study of business relations as they are found in an advanced country industrially organized as England of that period, these business relations generally being taken in an ideal condition with a general tendency to imagine strong cases.

Now what do we mean by organization of industry ? By industrial organization is understood the way in which the three agents of production, land, labour and capital—the terms being used in the widest sense—are brought together for the purpose of production— including within production such services as means of communication and transport agencies supply, for production in economics includes marketing.

The manner in which the three agents of production have been related to each other has not been the same at all times, nor is it the same now in various countries. We will not here consider the older industrial organization—if indeed some of the arrangements in the so-called hunting and nomadic stages do even deserve that name but study only the organization as found in the more advanced countries of the West. The course of economic development is not easy to trace, inasmuch as economic life is complex and many-sided, and nearly all attempts to mark off stages by historicoo-philosophical and socio-economic reasoning of a general type, are unsatisfactory. The division into three periods of barter, money and credit economy mistakes the accident for the essential.

The broad generalization, indicated in Maine's famous law that the world has progressed from a condition of status to one of contract, and in Herbert Spencer's law of evolution that the movement is from the militant to the industrial regime are obviously only suggestive, but do not afford explanations of any practical use. The time-honoured division into five stages—the hunting, pastoral, the agricultural, the commercial and the industrial—is historically incorrect, and extremely vague. The division into the so-called the stone, the bronze, the iron and the steel age is of the same character. A more useful way of looking at the course of development is to notice the forms through which business has passed—the clan, the family, the hire system, the handicrafts system, and the domestic system which gave place to the factory system under which we are living at present. A study of these forms is a most fascinating chapter in the history of institutions, and is most necessary to an Indian student who desires to equip himself properly for the study of Indian problems.

Now let us turn at once to the chief characteristics of the present day typical form—the factory system. An American economist says :

This system is the one under which the modern world lives. Here the capitalist employer not only provides the raw material and disposes of the finished product, but also controls the intermediate process. The machinery is so costly as to be beyond the reach of the workman; and since the machines are the property of the employer, the building in which production is carried on must also belong to him and is called the factory. The labourer is not his own master as in the handicraft system; he no longer owns the tools and the workshop, as in the domestic system: all that he does is to provide the human labour force which is applied through machines and in workplaces owned by the capitalist employer. The stupendous increase of production which is thus rendered possible reacts upon the labourer, both as producer and consumer. Population increases enormously, and there is a continual drift from the country to the city. Industrial society receives its modern shape, and the social income is divided into the rent of the land-owner, the interest of the capitalist, the wages of the labourer, and the profits of the entrepreneur. 'Manufacturer' no longer means the handworker, but the individual who employs others to work for him. The development of capital leads to keener competition and speculation, new classes of capitalist middlemen arise, and the machinery of credit and exchange is transformed. The predominance of the industrial capitalist employer is so pronounced as to give to the whole form of business enterprise the name factory system.

Such is the brief description of the factory system, indicating its chief features by a distinguished American economist in a recent work.

We shall now take up the several features of the modern industrial system for separate consideration :

1. Division of Labour, and increasing differentiation of functions.

Perhaps this is the most notable feature of the new system. All organization, as biologists tell us, requires differentiation and integration; and the higher the organization the greater the complexity of

functional structure—the more intricate the differentiation and integration processes.

In the modern factory system, with its growing complexity of organization, the division of labour and differentiation is every day becoming more minute. The conditions of machine production favour this.

The advantages of division of labour have been well stated by Adam Smith, and are now incorporated in all works on general economics. When an individual is confined to one work only, practice makes him perfect in it, he becomes an expert. A lad who had made nothing but nails all his life could make them twice as quickly as a first-rate smith who only took to nail-making occasionally. In a complex organization with division of labour, every one would find a place best suited for his power and intelligence. Adam Smith mentioned that, among other advantages, division of labour leads to invention of machinery. He says:—

The invention of all those machines, by which labour is so much facilitated and abridged, seems to have been originally owing to the division of labour. Men are much more likely to discover easier and readier methods of attaining any object, when the whole attention of their minds is directed towards that single subject, than when it is dissipated among a great variety of things.

Now, though there is no doubt that invention of machines has been very rapid with the increasing differentiation of labour, the history of the past century does not bear out the reason ascribed by Adam Smith. It is the efficiency of production by machinery which gave a strong impetus to invention; and in an era of competitive struggle, new processes that economise cost have been devised with bewildering rapidity. But the inventions that can be credited to workmen actually engaged on a process have been very few—larger numbers of inventions are made by those who make invention their business in life; the modern competitive industrial system has made a special class of inventors possible as it pays to spend one's life in the search of economising devices. A considerable part of the inventor's work is done, too, by the increasing body of scientific men ever on the look out to harness nature and husband human energy.

Disadvantages.—The increasing division of labour in industry is, however, not without its disadvantages. The disadvantages proceed from the extreme specialization which division of labour necessitates.

It is urged as a serious charge against the modern factory system where one workman is confined to the mere mechanical repetition of a single simple act, that it tends to make a man a mere *machine*; it takes away from him the human qualities, and stifles all initiative and intelligence in him. The work in a factory is so monotonous that life loses all charm for those employed in them. It is all dull and

monotonous, wearying and soul-sickening. Socialists paint the picture gruesome and in thick colours, and lead from it to some of their well-known panaceas. But there is no doubt that Karl Marx and others have correctly indicated the serious defect of the system as found in factories.

It is important, however, to remember certain considerations which Professor Marshall, who has discussed this subject most thoughtfully, has advanced. In discussing the influences which machinery exerts over the character of modern industry he says: Complex machinery increases the demand for judgment and general intelligence "for the more delicate the machine's power, the greater is the judgment and carefulness which is called from those who see after it." Marshall also points out the fact that while there is a constantly increasing subdivision of labour, many of the lines of division between trades which are nominally distinct are becoming narrower and less difficult to be passed. The barriers that divide different trades are weakened. In modern industry we have a multiplication of thin lines of division ; but

they are of an altogether different kind from the deep and broad partitions which divided one group of mediaeval craftsman from another ; and which caused the lifelong suffering of the handloom weavers when their trade had left them.

Marshall has also argued that machinery relieves the strain on human muscles and lightens man's labours ; and removes much of the irksomeness that attaches to hard animal muscular work.

On the whole, Professor Marshall is inclined to think that there is a clear balance of advantages over disadvantages. This becomes particularly plain when we see that as a rule factory workmen are more intelligent than agricultural labourers who, however, have varied occupations which should give them a broader outlook of life.

We have also to note that some of the dangers of the factory system can be averted. The human side of workers in factories need not suffer, when proper arrangements for their amusements and intellectual improvement are made. "The social surroundings of a factory life stimulate mental activity in and out of working hours." As Professor Seligman says :—

Under proper leadership within his own ranks and in those of the employers, he may be a part of the machine, and yet not only remain a man but become more of a man than before. Under such conditions as they are disclosed by progress in the most advanced nations, division of labour may be a blessing instead of a curse, and remain an aid to production without becoming a menace to individuality.

Another charge, often made that the circumstances of factory life are unfavourable to *health* and *morals*, is not borne out by facts. There is no doubt that work in some trades, known as noxious trades, is

injurious to health, and there is even danger to life in some trades ; but this is equally true of home employments. The worst kind of labour conditions are not to be found in factories but in sweating districts and tenement houses in the so-called east end of big towns. A great American authority, one of the greatest on industrial matters generally and factory work in particular, Colonel C. D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labour, says in his monograph on factory system in the United States : " The trouble is not in the air space of the factories but in that of the homes. The air of a cotton factory is better than that of a lecture room."

The charge urging degradation in moral character is absolutely unfounded. The moral results of the factory system would compare favourably with those of the domestic system which it superseded.

It is, however, to be noted that some of these dangers and evils were undoubtedly present at the time when the factory system was in its early stages, but they were due to special circumstances and are not essential to the system. To quote Colonel Wright again : " The great evils which became apparent during the early days of the factory-system were simply the results of bringing together the labour which had become pauperized under the domestic system and in agricultural districts. The factory brought these evils to light ; and the employment of women and children became an offence in the eyes of the public, not because it was severer than under the old system, but because under the new the evils of such employment could be seen."

President Hadley of Yale—one of America's soberest thinkers on social affairs,—has thus summed up his consideration of the whole question : " On the whole we find that advancing civilization brings gains which more than make up for the losses."

I have dwelt on the subject with some detail, as it is assuming a living importance in India. It is one of the questions in which we have much to learn from the experience of western countries, and the sober discussions of thoughtful men. The question connected with "factory labour"—like the "number of hours of work," "Conditions of factory life," "examination of factories by sanitary inspectors," "the lack of sufficiency of proper kind of labour"—are all occupying the special attention of Indian publicists and thinkers to-day. We have had a commission going into evidence of a number of questions and we find in our daily and weekly papers frequent articles on the subject. Here is a field for students of economics like us to study a problem with a living interest.

On the whole subject I shall recommend you to read :—

J. A. Hobson's—*Evolution of Capitalism*.
 Cook-Taylor's—*Modern Factory System*.
 Marshall's—*Principles*, Bk. IV.
 Report of the Royal Labour Commission.

and for historical material :—

Cunningham's *History Modern Times* :—
 Miss Hutchin's—*Factory Legislation*.

For those preparing themselves for taking part in the discussion of Indian economic problems, nothing can be better than the study of the whole problem of labour under the factory system.

INDIAN MUSSALMANS AND INDIAN POLITICS.—II.

BY AN "INDIAN MUSSULMAN."

ENGLISH education was, in short, the underlying and sole cause of the potent changes. Western culture when applied to Eastern brains is sure to produce a ferment. As it is with Hindus, so it is with Mahomedans. The educational seed was sown late into the Mahomedan mind and hence the crop was also reaped late. The political awakening, be it remembered, was not the result of disaffection—the Moslems are unswerving in loyalty as ever—or pro-Partition agitation, but rather the natural outcome of the seed which the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan himself had sown. The Moslem community felt a thrill of new life. The "spirit of the living" was having a tussle with the "spirit of the dead." The newly brewed wine could not be kept in the old bottles. How to reconcile the new spirit with the traditional stereotyped "school of Mahomedan opinion" was the insoluble enigma. How to evolve a policy which would not run counter to the counsel—crystallized counsel like hide-bound custom dies hard—of Sir Syed and yet move with the *zeitgeist* was the Sphinx's riddle. The ferment worked until the Aga Khan as the spokesman of the sixty-two millions of Indian Mahomedans, *Oedipus*-like, raised a new flag inside the entrenchments of Syed Ahmedian toryism. If this safety-valve had not been provided for, the enlightened Mahomedans of India would eventually have either joined the Indian National Congress or set up a Congress of their own. Other causes which helped the crossing of the Rubicon were (1) a desire on the part of the Mahomedans to protect their political rights and press their claims in a constitutional way, without prejudice to loyalty to their rulers and good-will to their Hindu brethren, (2) a fear—common to all minor communities—that unless they entered on an organised political action their interests would suffer and that unless they rose equal to the occasion they would lag far behind the members of other, more progressive, communities, in representative institutions. It slowly dawned on the Moslems that the policy hitherto pursued by them—of confining themselves to the work of spreading education in the country and leaving all politics to be dealt with by their more educated brethren—which might have been beneficial at

one time, was unsuited to the new circumstances and, in fact, quite detrimental to their interests. They became alive to the fact that to secure real advancement they must boldly step into the arena of politics and "declare their wants and grievances with a view to their being recognised and removed by the Government." But the immediate cause which gave birth to the Mahomedan Deputation was not the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, as some wrongly opine, (for the Deputation was organized long before the Lieutenant-Governor's resignation was in the air) but the prospect of getting a "fair share" in the extended representation foreshadowed in the announcement made by Lord Morley in his memorable Budget Speech. The Moslem wanted to strike while the iron was hot and, as later events showed, his efforts were crowned with phenomenal success. Such was briefly the genesis of the movement.

The Deputation, the prologue to the All-India Moslem League, was not of spontaneous mushroom growth, was thoroughly representative of the great historic people and was conducted "without undue publicity or advertisement." As early as 1901 an attempt was made in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the centre of Indian Muhammedanism, to protect the political rights of the Moslems of India and it was resolved that

Local associations should be formed in each province, besides an important and weighty corporation for the whole of India, composed of men conspicuous for the ability and soundness of judgment and that, through the instrumentality of all these Associations, more permanent arrangements might be made for the protection of the rights and privileges of the Mussulmans of India.*

The Mahomedans took ample care to consult beforehand their co-religionists in every part of the country. We are told :—

Their private activity was incessant for many weeks before the interview with the Viceroy. The Mahomedan Associations and Anjumans, and leading Mahomedans all over India were consulted. The draft memorial was submitted and carefully scrutinised and discussed in every centre of Mahomedanism from Peshawar to Madras ; and there was much correspondence and consideration before it assumed its final form. A committee which included many leading Mahomedans assembled at Lucknow a week or two before to make the concluding arrangements. Finally, the honoured names of the members of the Deputation headed, moreover, as it was, by so revered and esteemed a Mahomedan prince as His Highness the Agha Khan, placed its notable and representative character beyond all question.

*Rules and Regulations of the All-India Muslim League (Pioneer Press, Allahabad).

Altogether the memorial was admirably drafted, temperate in tone, and even eloquent in some passages. A quiet dignity pervaded it. In spirit, it was more pan-Indian than sectional. Although sectional interests were placed in the foreground, they were relieved, in an unconflicting way, by the background of pan-Indian interests. Sometimes the tone of the memorial rose to the pitch of the Nationalists and is not unlike that of the National Congress. Taking the particular case of the elective principle in Indian politics, the views of the memorialists were as pronounced as those of a Mehta or a Gokhale. They boldly asked for some form of popular suffrage instead of acquiescing in the old aristocratic principle of nomination.

Reviewing the salient features of the address presented to the Viceroy by the Deputation, we note that it begins in quite an Oriental fashion by acknowledging and appreciating "the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions belonging to diverse races and professing diverse religions, who form the population of the vast continent of India," winding up with the remark that the memorialists have every reason to be grateful for the "peace, security, personal freedom and liberty of worship" they enjoy. They strike quite a modern note when they warily and cautiously say that "from the wise and enlightened character of the government, we have every reasonable ground for anticipating that these benefits will be progressive and that India will, in the future, occupy an increasingly important position in the comity of nations." They urge the Government to pay "increasing deference" to the views and wishes of the people by cleverly suggesting that such deference "has, as far as possible, been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests, with due regard always to the diversity of race and religion which forms such an important feature in all Indian problems." Continuing in the same strain, they extol the Government for the gradual expansion of the elective principle from the "confidential and unobtrusive communities in different parts of the country" to "the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in Municipalities, District Boards, and, above all, in the Legislative Chambers of the country," and are frank enough to say that it was the prospect of getting a greater share in the Legislative Councils that had emboldened them to approach His

Excellency the Viceroy on that august occasion. They show by statistical strategy and comparative figures that "under any system of representation—extended or limited—" their claims should receive adequate recognition. Of course, the claims and rights of sixty-two millions of Moslems who constitute "between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian Dominions" and who are "more numerous than the entire population of any first class European power except Russia" cannot rightly be ignored. Nor do they stop with numbers alone. They earnestly press that "the position accorded to the Mahomedan community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their practical importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire", with the additional hope that "the position which they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds" would also be kept in view.

The Deputation declare that they have departed from the "time-honoured tradition" as "recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mahomedans, which might, in certain circumstances, and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance," and propose that the newl eaven may be suppressed by proper representation. They sound a note of warning that if the representative institutions of the West which are, however, new to India are to be successfully adapted to the social, religious and political conditions obtaining in India, "the greatest care, forethought, and caution are necessary;" and in the absence of such care and caution, they fear that their commmunal interests will be placed "at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority." They complain that the representation hitherto accorded to them has been "inadequate to their requirements and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent" and further remark that "while on the one hand the number of nominations reserved to the Viceroy and Local Governments has necessarily been strictly limited, the selection on the other hand of really representative men has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction

of popular voice, been far from easy". In their eyes, the results of election are disappointing, for they painfully yet pertinently remark that "it is most unlikely that the name of any Mahomedan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies, as now constituted, unless he is in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance, nor can we in fairness find fault with the desire of our non-Moslem fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community or for persons who, if not Hindus, are expected to vote with the Hindu majority on whose good-will they would have to depend for their future re-election." Rising above their sectional aims and ends, they utter a sublime truth when they say that "we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow-countrymen, and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence in our Legislative Chambers of able supporters of these interests, irrespective of their nationality." Yet they assert that they are "a distinct community" and incline to the belief that they have "additional interests of their own which are not shared by other communities," but there is no reason why these should clash with those of other communities.

The Deputation suggest that even in provinces where they outnumber the Hindus *i.e.*, the Punjab, Sindh, and Eastern Bengal, they are looked upon as "an appreciably small political factor that might without unfairness be neglected." Although there may be some truth in the statement that "the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment according to the position that the members of that community occupy in the service of the State," we cannot see how, the appointment of relatively better-qualified Hindus introduces "the competitive element in its worst form." This is only another way of begging for "preferential treatment,"—the prop of the older generation—which gives an anachronistic air to the Deputation. If occupation and long settlement be taken into consideration, the Hindu community (with its off-shoots), of all Indian peoples, claims the precedence and as they further form the majority and are, by their superior learning and industry, better qualified, we do not see any reason why there should be any heart-burning among us, the

Mussalmans in India, as the "selection" takes place in a perfectly natural way in obedience to the laws of evolution. In the struggle for existence "the survival of the fittest" theory shall ever rule the world, both animal and vegetable. We, Moslems must keep steadily in view the homely adage "First deserve and then desire", in our onward march of progress. Although the number of deserving Mahomedans has increased and is increasing, yet the supply is not sufficiently large to cope with the demand, the statements of the Deputation notwithstanding. The allegation that there is a "monopoly of all official influence by one class" seems irrelevant and untrue, for we suppose that the so-called exclusive privilege enjoyed by the Hindus is not registered by any "letters patent" and that under the British *ægis*, we, Mahomedans, have as much chance, if not more, to get into the higher posts. If, in the distribution of official loaves and fishes, really deserving Mahomedans are provided for, the Hindus, we are sure, will not cavil at the appointments. If, on the other hand, official nepotism is shown to incompetent Mahomedans, the fire of disaffection will rightly kindle in the hearts of our Hindu brethren. As for the Anglo-Indian point of view, I cannot do better than quote the *Times of India*, which says that "any Briton who seeks to exalt and favour—or to cajole—the Mahomedans at the expense of the other races of India, is no true Imperialist of the Empire." In short, there should be neither favour nor unfairness. The Deputation also indulge in a little charlatanic boast when they say that Mahomedan educationalists have laid more stress on the "development of character" than on "mental alertness" and that they therefore make "good public servants." Our experience derived in so essentially Mussalman a State as Hyderabad tells us that with the possible exception of the army—even there non-vegetarian Hindus are on a par with the Mahomedans, the Rajputs, the Sikhs, and the Jats being sepoy *par excellence*—the Hindus, generally, make better servants than the Mahomedans. Coming to the next clause of the Deputation we note that the Deputation again complain of the paucity of Mahomedans in the High Courts and Chief Courts and that ever since the creation of these Courts, only three Mahomedan judges have been appointed. Right enough. That these three Mahomedan judges—the late Justices Badruddin Tyabjee and Syed Mahmood, and Mr. Amir Ali—richly deserved

their elevation to the Bench is patent to every one. Be it said to their credit that they would have had, by their legal acumen, forced their way up to the highest judicial posts in any age and in any country, under conditions wherein intrinsic merit is the stepping-stone to success in official life. The prayer of the Deputation seems to have been heard, inasmuch as three Mahomedan judges have been appointed since, and whether they would justify their election time alone can tell.

The Deputation set forth an elaborate scheme for Moslem representation, beginning with the Municipal and District Boards and going right up to the Imperial Legislative Council including the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities. We all agree with the memorialists—as H. E. the Viceroy, in his reply, did agree—when they say, that the Municipal and District Boards “form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government, and it is here that the principle of representation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people.” They suggest that the proportion of seats on the above boards should be determined “in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements” of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities, and that the same procedure should also be extended to the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities. With regard to the Provincial Legislative Councils they insist on the formation of Electoral Colleges representing important interests, e.g., land-owners, lawyers, merchants, &c., Mahomedan members of District Boards and Municipalities and Mahomedan graduates of some years’ standing (say 5 years). Coming to the Imperial Legislative Council they urge that “(a) in the *cadre* of the Council the proportion of Mahomedan representatives should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the community, and that in any case the Mahomedan representatives should never be an ineffective minority; (b) as far as possible, appointments by election should be given preference over nomination; (c) for purposes of choosing Mahomedan members, Mahomedan land-owners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by your Excellency’s Government, Mahomedan members of the Provincial Councils and Mahomedan Fellows of Universities should be invested with electoral powers to be

exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by your Excellency's Government in that behalf." They then beg leave to suggest that in the event of Indian members being appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy, their claims will not be overlooked. They also pray that Government will foster the growth of their long-cherished desire of founding a Mahomedan University which will not only be the centre of their intellectual and religious life but will pave the way for the solution of their wants and aspirations. Lastly, the Deputation hint that, in furthering Mahomedan interests, Government will be only strengthening the band of loyalty and "laying the foundation of their political advancement and national prosperity."

The Viceroy's reply to the Deputation, "as expressing the views and aspirations of the enlightened Muslim community of India" was courteous and full of sympathy. Lord Minto first traced the early efforts of the British to assist the Mahomedans to qualify themselves for public service, from the founding of the Calcutta *Madrasah* by Warren Hastings in 1782 to the passing of the Government Resolution of 1885, dwelling also, at some length, on the indigenous effort which culminated in the Aligarh College. He then referred to the situation in Eastern Bengal and Assam and, turning to the political outlook, said that we cannot possibly ignore the hopes and ambitions of New India. He added that the unrest was not due to the "discontent of misgoverned millions" but attributable to the "educational growth." Commenting upon the introduction of representative institutions of the West into India, the Viceroy said that, although they can do much for the Indian people, he should be "very far from welcoming all the political machinery of the Western world among the hereditary instincts and traditions of Eastern races." Then adverting to the political future of the Moslems, he assured them that, in electoral representation and administrative organisation, their political rights and interests as a community shall be safe-guarded—a promise which he has more than fulfilled. But the present aspects of this great question will form the subject of discussion in our next paper, which will conclude this series.

RECENT EVENTS IN MYSORE : THEIR PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE.

By A "MYSOREAN."

THE present administration of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore has come in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of a section of noisy though not numerous politicians of Mysore and the press generally. If the shrill shrieks of Mysoreans conveyed as much truth as it did hysteria, then indeed the Dewan must be pronounced to be, as his opponents have averred, a Draco, a Sultan and a Czar in one, the oppressor of the people and the suppressor of liberties. However it is consoling to reflect that the horrors of the situation are entirely confined to the journalistic fancy and are not found to trespass into the homes or hearts of the people of Mysore.

Criticism of policies is almost completely buried under a heap of personal recriminations. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao is rewarded with an almost unparalleled amount of virulent and unscrupulous notice. One wonders if the men of Mysore ever stopped to consider that violence so extreme was sure to defeat itself. They bring against him numerous charges, and they find, honest critics that they are, nothing which they can in justice or charity adduce in his favour. They arrive at their verdict of absolute guilt by a trick not too clever. If any of the actions of the administration meet with their approval, they straightway attribute them to the benificent agency of the Maharaja, fondly hoping to achieve the double purpose of convincing His Highness of their loyalty, and what is nearer to their hearts, of depriving the Dewan of his poor share of credit. If, on the other hand, the actions of the administration fail to win their approval—as in most cases they do when the Dewan is a Non-Mysorean—the Dewan and none other must bear the whole responsibility for them. The surprising thing about this process of condemnation by convenient abstraction is that they should not have suspected the transparency and the futility of their dodge. In their haste to get at their enemy they have not left the Maharajah himself unscathed, a mischance which is certainly due to want of wit and not of affection for him. On their own showing, His Highness does all things good but preventing evil is not one of them.

He is clever and talented to a degree, but he does not perceive, what is *ex-hypothesi* patent to all, what a monster he has for his Prime Minister.

Willing but not clever enough to be really cunning, the critics muddle through the mire of sectional politics, protected from self-contempt and the jeers of the public by their serene lack of humour. Themselves put to inconsistent shifts to protect their interests, they represent the Dewan as the reflection of themselves, as equally inconsistent and shifty. They are patriots, as the Dewan and those of his ilk can never hope to be ; if proof is wanted listen to the way they lecture the British on their duties. And yet their Nationalism would, if it could, exclude Non-Mysoreans from the hospitality of State service. Scratch an Indian patriot in Mysore and you will find a Mysore particularist. Nay more ; they often point out what an enemy to British interests the Dewan is, and wind up, perhaps the same exordium, with an insulting picture of him as a tyrant to his people. He is represented as a Nationalist when British indignation is sought to be stirred ; and as the cat's paw of the British, when the hatred and contempt of the populace is sought to be evoked. Anyhow he must be ground down between the upper and nether mill stones of the Residency and the Demos. Well, whatever the Dewan is or is not, one thing is clear ; he has roused the "Mysore party" to fury ; and I am not sure, considering the character and tendencies of that party whether that is not one of his best titles to honour and fame.

All sticks have been used in the task of belabouring the present administration. The Dewan has thrown open the Civil Service for foreign competition (*i.e.*) for the competition of neighbouring provinces. We are reminded of a disagreeable development of recent Chinese politics. The reformers started the cry "China for the Chinese," the men of Canton introduced the amendment "Canton for the Cantonese." Two years ago this disruptive tendency gave much though temporary concern to the authorities. Mysore, it seems, is a growth in and for itself, not a branch of India drawing sustenance from the parent stem and bound up with it for all its deepest interests, and forming part of the common heritage of all Indians. To enable men of the different provinces to mix with each other for pleasure or business is both a national and a liberal movement. To bring

together men habituated to different environments is to provide facilities for broadening the mind by exchange of ideas and the enjoyment of fresh experiences. The crossing of environments, as I call it, is perhaps the most important condition of progress ; when that stops, criticism slackens, custom hardens and variation is rendered almost impossible. Crossing of every kind has long ago ceased in India, but nothing has contributed so largely to our stagnation and degeneracy as the cessation of the process of crossing environments. One of the most favoured of our Patriot Princes, the Maharajah of Baroda, is a great believer in the policy of conferring the higher dignities of his State on outsiders and his example deserves to be more largely followed. There is a method in what appears to be the madness of an autocrat. Men coming from afar are above local factions. As orthodoxy varies inversely as the distance from home, they are comparatively freer from caste prejudices. Not only the efficiency of the office but the moral support extended to it by the people is thereby increased.

The motto "Mysore for the Mysoreans" is a hollow and disingenuous plea masquerading as the sentiment of the people. It is not the cry of the people of the State of Mysore, but of a few citizens chiefly resident in the town of Mysore. One may conjecture that adherence to this principle is due to considerations more substantial than a regard for popular interests. It happens to coincide with their sectional interests admirably and therein lies its charm. One can understand and even sympathise with the passion with which it is defended. But to suppose that it expresses the will of the people is an absurdity which can be established *a priori*. For Mysore, like other parts of India, probably more than other parts of India except Travancore, is the home of caste animosities. Caste feelings are no respecters of boundaries. To represent that Mysore of all places in India has miraculously overcome internal dissensions to the extent of evolving, without imparting the secret to the myriads that are in search of it, an effective geographical feeling is to utter a lie which all good people would wish was a truth. A Mysorean, while he would prefer a Mysorean of his own caste to any outsider, would in the next instance prefer an outsider of his own caste to a Mysorean of another caste. Whether in any particular case an appointment would be approved by the majority

of people or not would depend almost entirely on the numerical superiority of the caste to which the officer belongs.

The big stick in the critic's armoury is the Press Act by which the Administration took power from the Legislature to warn offending papers in the first instance, and should their error be heightened by the guilt of persistence, to confiscate the press, and in the worst possible cases, to deport their editors. A curious, if not surprising, feature of the situation is that the papers which were most valiant and violent in opposing the measure, stopped publication of their own accord. One asks--does this represent the measure of their devotion for the sacred cause of liberty and the valour they could muster in its defence? Does it measure the amount of reliance they placed in that strong and united public opinion, which they claimed to have themselves created and led? Did they think they were presenting an edifying spectacle to their followers by fleeing precipitately before a blow was struck? If this is the way they represented courage, it is also the way they represented public opinion. The truth need not be missed any longer that they went down amidst the jeers of the people. They committed a *hari-kari* which had been delayed too long; and the Dewan is accused of the slaughter of innocents! The Executive was supported in the Representative Assembly, which is purely an elective body chosen by the masses, by all except a few lawyers and teachers. Our lawyers are great sticklers to forms: they stood for liberty and talked glibly of verbal shibboleths like the freedom of the Press. They do not seem able to grasp the elementry truth that in politics rights are in essence the same as policies, to be judged by results and not by appeal to principles supposed to be immutable. The landlords and patels and merchants supported the Government. They regarded the Act as amply justified by considerations of public good and morality. One of them welcomed Executive action and compared the judiciary to the mother-in-law's house and the Executive to the mother's. This homely simile drawn from the experience of the young Hindu wife sums up the matter with admirable pathos and point. The forms of legal administration now current in Mysore are far beyond what our present stage of culture can profitably employ, and they have done on the whole more harm than good to the masses. The Government under this Act deals with press offences as

political, and provides for deportation where transportation is becoming the rule in British India. Executive action even when most violent is relieved by a gleam of straightforwardness and lends itself more easily to revision or mitigation at the hands of the Government. And, after all, is a trip to Bangalore Cantonment so very much worse than a sojourn to the Andamans? Which is better, to be classed with a Lajpat Rai or a felon of the worst kind?

In reality, the Act marks an advance in constitutionalism. The Maharajah is in theory an autocrat in the internal administration of his State. If he is at all responsible, it is to the British Government and not to his subjects. The powers now obtained under the Act have always been in him; and they were used a few years ago. What the present Act does is to remove from the Maharaja an individual personal responsibility and shift it to the shoulders of the whole administration and circumscribe it by definite provisions for enquiry, warning and so on. Deductive reasoners founding States on elementary text-books will not of course be satisfied with anything short of the inauguration of a republic but the true philosopher will be quite content to say with Newman: "One step is enough for me."

To hear a certain type of Mysorean talk one would think that Mysore was an independent State and a first class power to boot. The submerged press deliberately tried to create serious misunderstandings between the State and the Imperial Government, by reading anti-British lessons into all the liberal reforms of the Durbar, which could of course not have been carried without the support of the Residency. Their motives may have been to spite the Dewan or to manifest their larger patriotism. But in any case no Government can tolerate a press which threatened to disturb the delicate balance of feudatory and imperial relations. The Press in the Native States must be particularly guarded and cautious in its expression of views bearing directly or indirectly on British affairs. I am not surprised that both Baroda and Hyderabad have refused to be embarrassed by the luxury of a press which cannot distinguish between freedom and irresponsible license.

Conditions in British India and the Native States are so different that a slavish imitation of British Indian methods of administration or of agitation is unwarranted and would prove

injurious. In a very real sense, the dictum of the Dewan that Mysore possesses a National Government holds good in spite of criticisms to the contrary. Doubtless Mysore is not a republic and under the social conditions prevailing it would be farther away from the ideal state if a republic were proclaimed to-morrow. It is not democratic in form but, what is of more immediate urgency and utility, it is democratic in purpose. The interests of the ruler and ruled do not and cannot come into fundamental conflict. The officers mix freely with the people, and as they know the vernacular well, they understand their needs and requirements without the necessary intervention of middlemen and representatives. No one goes out amongst the people more freely than the present Dewan. It is a matter of common remark that the farmers and labourers approach him with greater freedom and converse with him with less reserve than they do with many of the lesser dignitaries. If he is the step-father of the city of Mysore, as they say he is, he is more than a father to the rural community. He is democratic enough in his ways and manners to satisfy an American. If he is a despot, he seems bent on having the days of despotism numbered. He created the Legislative assembly and further allowed Non-official members into it. He increased the powers of the Representative Assembly and has made every effort to educate it up to the level where increasingly fuller powers of controlling the Government may be entrusted to it. And all this be it remarked, without even the pretence of pressure from outside. About three years ago the Vokkaligara Sangha came into existence. The Vokkaligara are the agricultural caste. They form the most important and numerous section of the industrial population of the State. The fact to be noted here is that it owes its existence to the Dewan more than to any other individual and much of its success—and it has already made astonishing progress—is due to the sympathy of the Maharajah and his Dewan. If a plebiscite be taken to-morrow the people would be found to be decisively on the side of Mr. Madhava Rao.

Students of political science are aware of a kind of democracy technically termed Cæsarism, which is an autocracy supported and in some cases created by the people in defence and furtherance of their interests. When the masses in Russia rose and tore into shreds the constitution forced on Anne by the nobles

they acted on a true appreciation of what was best for them under the circumstances. Poor, ignorant, powerless and without the unity and organisation required for the efficient protection of themselves, they infinitely preferred the rule of a single despot, too far removed from them to have many special ends antagonistic to their welfare, to that of their rich or literate neighbours who were notoriously rapacious and unscrupulous. And Frenchmen of the 19th century improved on the precedent and set up an Emperor by popular suffrage. During times of stress and internal dissensions men have in all ages turned to the strong man and not to self-Government. Speaking for the masses, I feel assured that they are better off under the personal rule of a Gaekwar than under a bureaucratic or representative regime. A drastic course of Cæsarism would prepare us sooner for real self-government than the listless dabbling in popular institutions which seems to be the order of the day.

The British may take a few lessons from the Native States. Civilized forms of Government are not in all cases a blessing to people, the more personal type is often the better. The masses have not much to gain by the cult of formal liberties, when they lack education, and are crushed down body and soul by poverty and the variety of social layers heaped upon them. What is wanted is, as Mr. Buchanan said, a change in the spirit of administration. The District Magistrates in British India should have sympathy as well as a thorough knowledge of the vernaculars and must, above all, be of a temper to delight in casting off the frightening weeds of pomp and splendour, which they put on during their temporary appearance on the Indian stage. They must have time and the tact to make the best use of 'banyan tree durbars.' They must make an honest and not merely a platonic endeavour to educate us to the standard of social reconstruction and self-Government. "Not democratic in form but democratic in purpose",—that is the moral conveyed by Baroda and Mysore to the British.

INDIAN POLYTECHNICS.

By MR. H. SUBBA RAO.

FEW will say that there is a perfect system of education in India. The late Sir Lepel Griffin wondered how England could give a perfect system of education to India when she herself has not got one. Systems after systems are at work, but with no desirable result. In the education that we get in Indian Universities, the head is cultivated at the expense of other faculties. But, as Herbert Spencer has said, "if there is a rise in one faculty, there will be a fall in other faculties." We should so impart education to our youth that the head, body and mind are proportionately developed.

Recent events show that an attempt is made by some patriotic workers to give an 'integral' education, that is, the education of the head, body and mind. In England there are some schools of polytechnics to achieve this ideal. For instance, 'the City of London College' in Moorfields is an institution giving instruction in literature, science and art. For men engaged in commercial and industrial occupations, there are 'special trade classes' which will benefit them in everyday work. Of all occidental countries, France probably may be said to take a vital interest in the education of children. As a general rule, whichever country or nation considers its children as the life-blood of the nation, the education that is imparted to children in such countries is generally the soundest.

Abyssinia, though treated as part of 'the orient,' accomplished one of the noblest tasks, which even the benign British Government has failed to do, and that is, it has provided for the compulsory education of its children. All male children of 12 years of age are compelled to go to school. Japan has got many schools of polytechnics to which the State owes its present eminence. Different schools are established for teaching Mechanical Engineering, artistic crafts, Horology, electro-chemistry, metallurgy, and other arts which form the essential objects of study to make the country industrially prosperous. In India, there are some occupations which are considered as objectionable. For instance, tanning leather, dyeing, etc. Some Hindus yet consider it opposed to their customs. But it is high time that

we should take a broad and liberal view of these occupations and make enterprises. The knowledge acquired by students in foreign parts in tanning has enabled them to take positions of responsibility and increase their incomes. For example, students once earning less than £2 per week are now enabled to earn £5 per week in leather factories.

Prof. Millis in a lecture delivered in the Manchester Municipal Technical School in 1896, drew attention to the necessity of studying art and science in these pregnant words :—

I am afraid that men, as a rule, think too little of the value of science because they do not at once see how it is to be applied. I believe the young men should have been offered the fullest opportunities in the way of education directly and indirectly connected with their occupations, and this would open to them the possibilities of inventing new processes in their trade, or of adapting themselves to the ever-changing conditions of manufacture, that come about by the growth of general education, and the advance of scientific discovery.

In the Madras presidency, the artizan and mechanics class consist of about 18½ per cent. of the total population. The next numerous class is that engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics and dress, which constitutes about 3 per cent. of the total population. Mr. Wallace says :—

Strangers from more advanced countries who visit India are generally impressed by the backward state of the crafts of this country. They observe that the Indian artizan does less work with a given amount of labour than the European. The amount of labour that an Indian artificer wastes is a proof of a deplorable want of method and technique. It shows that he has not been properly instructed; and if you examine his tools, you will generally find them blunt and out of order. ' ' ' ' When we reflect upon the vast resources in natural wealth, mineral and vegetable of India which up to the present time are to a great extent undeveloped; when we know that of all countries raising agricultural produce for export, India gives the least per acre, and that other countries import enormous quantities of her products only to manufacture and return them, we realise how much the working population has yet to learn in order that the wealth of India may be properly utilized.

This clearly shows that we require a large number of schools of polytechnics if we want to compete with foreigners in industries. That our people still retain their old skill in weaving Mr. Chatterton speaks as follows :—

If in other parts of the world, there is any demand of higher quality, there would not be any difficulty in meeting it, as the Indian weavers retain all their old skill, and only complain of the few opportunities they now get for exhibiting it.

Dr. Hanford Henderson of the Harvard University gives a description of education that is given in American schools in polytechnics. They divide their schools into 3 parts, (1) Manual Training, (2) Technical schools, '3) Industrial or trade schools. In manual training, subjects such as bench work, wood work, pattern making and other subjects are taught. Subjects such as carpentry, brick-laying, stone-cutting, paper hanging, machine work, printing or plumbing are taught in industrial or trade schools. Dr. Henderson when questioned how India could enter into her rightful place in commerce said that without schools where practice and culture went together there was no hope of salvation to India.

Prof. Wilson estimates our ancient civilization in his Introduction to the Vedas in the following words :—"The Indians were a manufacturing people; for the art of weaving, the labours of the carpenters and the fabrication of the gold and iron are alluded to; and what is more remarkable they were a maritime people." The arts and sciences, as known to the Hindus, were reckoned, according to Abul Fazl, to be about 300 in number. The Sanskrit books enumerate about 64 kalas or fine arts. In India everything was hand-wrought and everything down to the cheapest toy or earthen vessel was therefore more or less a work of art. Mention is made about manual training in America. This is not new to us. Lace-making and embroidery of India were very much praised in the markets of Europe as they are valued at the present day. Stone-carving and wood-engraving had also reached a high standard in India as would be evident from a look at the different emblems of gods and goddesses of the Hindus, who still excite the admiration of the world in respect of their architecture, workmanship and finish. Mr. J. S. Cotton writing in The English Citizen series, raises a note of wail, at the decay of Indian arts and handicrafts. He says : "carpet-making, fine embroidery, jewellery, metal work, the damascening of arms, saddlery, carving, paper-making, even architecture and sculpture have all alike decayed by foreign competition." Sir Alfred Lyall remarks :—

From the days of the Romans up to our time, the Indian trade has drained the gold and silver of Europe. But how distressing it is for us at the present day to think, that all our local manufactures are neglected and are dying out, reducing a once prosperous India to the condition of an abject beggar, from door to door, for the supply of the bare necessities of life • • •

* * The shadow of death seems to have fallen on every genuine Indian industry, and their ultimate disappearance appears to be only a question of time.

Now the question is, should we allow our industries to die out or make attempts to revive them and make our country prosperous? The answer is plain. We desire the latter. How to revive our industries and our arts? The Government is trying its very best to help us. But we require also some individual enterprises.

The following are some of my reflections on the means to be adopted for the industrial and economical salvation of our country. The first act that we should do is to establish schools of polytechnics in different provinces. The instruction given in such institutions should be to benefit even the humblest of individuals who form the lowest strata of the social organisation. For all such people instruction in the following subjects ought to be given:—Making of metal and earthenware pots, pans for cooking purposes, bone and metal buttons, pins, hooks, needles and thread, instructions in wood-carving, smithing. Now coming to a stage higher in the social scale, the following subjects can be recommended:—Making of:—(1) Culinary utensils and lamps. (2) Candles and soap. (3) Paper, ink, pen and pencil. (4) Compounding of varnishes and colours. To this class, such subjects as making of springs for couches or chairs, hinges of a cup-board or box, screw, nails and locks, should be taught as such works require some capital for their proper working. One degree higher again in the social scale, *i. e.*, to the middle class, mere artistic crafts can be taught. The subjects undertaken for tuition should be such as would be serviceable to jewellers, gold and silversmiths, etc. Therefore they should be taught jewellery, gold and silver smithing, watch and clock repairing, engraving on metals, enamelling, modelling, working in plaster, wood, stone and marble-carving, painting and decorating, photography, and architectural ornamentations.

The education of the rich requires a good deal of capital. To this class tuition in the following subjects ought to be recommended:—Mechanical Engineering and metal trades; Applied physics and Electrical Engineering; Horology; Electro-chemistry; Metal extraction; Dyeing; Sugar making; Brewing and the manufacture of Ayurvedic drugs.

This analysis, I believe, would be sufficient for our present needs, and very well succeed in making our country industrially prosperous.

THE SEAMY SIDE OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

BY MR. KESARI PRASAD SINGH, B.A.

"To him that hath shall be given and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

IN countries like England and America where every new step in science and invention, industry and commerce is an addition to the people's wealth, tending to raise the standard of living, comfort and morality, the truth of this 'hard saying' may not appear on the surface; but even there it is discoverable when one goes deep in search of it. It is the painful discovery of this truth that has led economists, moralists and socialists to raise a cry for the more equal distribution of wealth and for the amelioration of the condition of those who are destitute and trodden down. Compulsory education, the regulation of labour and Factory Acts are all the outcome of this tendency. They are introduced to protect the helpless and to raise the standard of their living. It is truly said that the destruction of the poor is their poverty but it is equally true that of all degradations and of all curses poverty is the worst. Its effects are cumulative. Its tendency is to grow deeper where once it has taken root. The children of the poor have few opportunities of raising themselves out of the deep pit of poverty in which they find themselves. Poverty like a fever feeds on the blood, the very nourishment of life. A man may walk, move, work and earn, yet find in the end that nothing is left to him. It is truly said in Sanskrit that all the four quarters of the world are blank to the poor.

In India the people are very poor, with a low standard of living, a backward state of education—all due to their poverty. Yet never has any proper investigation been made nor have any efforts been seriously put forth to remove the cause of it.

We hear many different explanations of the poverty and backward state of India; some of them are true, but most of them are merely the suppression and misrepresentation of facts. It is not long since we heard from Lord Minto in the last budget debate that the economic progress of the country depended upon the people. Could there be any greater mis-statement of facts than this, which must surely have been made inadvertently. To an

intelligent observer of the present political condition of India the remark must appear strangely inaccurate and inapt.

How does the economic progress of the country depend on the efforts of the people ? The people have no part in the administration of the country. Their voice is very feeble and seldom heard in the matter of legislation. Their interests, whether political, intellectual, moral or economic, are represented not by themselves but by those who govern them and who sit in the British House of Commons. The Anglo-Indians who set themselves up as protectors of Indian's interests, act on the principle that they do and will do everything for the people but nothing would be acceptable to them if it came from the people. Scarcely any suggestion however sane, reasonable and pressing it may be, is adopted by the protectors of the peoples' interests. They may be likened to a jealous guardian or manager of a ward, who may never attain his majority or who is thought to be perpetually incapable of managing his own affairs. So long as the people are mute and follow their rulers like dumb creatures, they are commended and pitied. But the moment they show signs of intellectual and political life, they are considered no longer safe ; nay, they are called enemies of the Government. Sometimes a man like Mr. Rees will confess his cherished desire that all forms of liberal education should be stopped in India. Mr. Rees is becoming famous in the House of Commons for the language which he is wont to use about the people whose salt he has eaten and I suppose still eats. It is fortunate for the House of Commons that other members on the same side do not catch the infection from him. It is here that the theory and practice of our rulers part company and the causes of unrest and discontent arise. This is but one instance of the numerous evils that are prevalent in the administration of India. I will try to point out some other instances which will illustrate how little foundation there is in the statement that the progress of the Indians depends upon themselves.

Is any justice done to India in regard to her commerce and industry ? Hardly any. The reason is not far to seek. No justice is possible in a case where one of the parties acts as a judge as well. The tariff and the commercial policy of India are so shaped and regulated by the House of Commons as to always give an advantage to the merchants of the United Kingdom, who are rich,

influential and powerful, over the Indian competitors, who are poor, uneducated and almost without a voice in the chambers of commerce. It is the British merchants who legislate for India in matters of commerce and trade. They are sellers in the Indian markets and at the same time legislators. In such circumstances it would be very easy to foretell what the laws would be. It is because of laws so made that Indian manufactures have died out and the country has been forced to depend on agricultural resources. It is not very long since an excise duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was imposed on all the cotton goods manufactured by the mills in India. This was done simply to stifle the infant industry of the country, which threatened to be the rival of the factories and mills of Lancashire, though it was done under the pretence of maintaining the principle of free trade. Upon such a principle it is just and reasonable to levy custom duties on all imported cotton goods. But the principle is subordinated to British interests and the result is that while all the cotton goods manufactured by Indian mills are subject to duties, only a few imported articles of cotton are subject to excise duty. This is called the fair adjustment of the principle of equality. The very object that the Government proclaims to maintain is defeated in this. The Government of India were compelled to impose a tax on foreign-made articles for the purposes of revenue; and yet those very articles which could have brought the greater income are exempted under the policy of freedom and equality. For instance, yarns both fine and coarse, are imported free of duty. The people protested against such economic injustice, but all in vain. The law was passed. Trade is hampered and another load laid on the shoulders of a people, already tottering under the burden of taxation, and yet they are held responsible for the economic development of their country.

Trade is incompatible with the functions of a Government, unless it be for the good of the governed people. In any other case trade by Government cannot but result in oppression, monopoly and ultimate ruin. The character of the East India Company, both as a ruler and a trader, is a conspicuous example of this vicious policy. In all the branches of trade that were most profitable, monopolies were established. The trade of the country was ruined and consequently traders were thrown out

of employment. This is no place to recount the misdeeds of the Company ; they are faithfully recorded by Mill in his *History of India*. The corrupt administration that wiped away many of the manufactures and ruined the trade of the country was one of the reasons for the transfer of India to the Crown. Hopes of better administration were held out and entertained by the people ; but they are perhaps never to be realised. Though the Company's rule came to an end, the evils that the Company bequeathed to the Crown have not all disappeared with the march of time.

To-day India is, in some respects, worse off under the Crown than it had ever been under the Company. Thus, though the Company established a monopoly in the manufacture of salt in Bengal where salt had been manufactured from time immemorial, yet it never forbade its manufacture. Bengal not only supplied its own salt but exported salt to other parts of India. A few years past the manufacture of salt was forbidden by the Indian Government and the grounds given in the Report on the " Moral and Material Progress of India, for 1904 " are not satisfactory. Smuggling and illicit trade in salt were said to be the most important causes for the abolition of the salt manufacture in Bengal. Nature is as profuse to-day in that part of the country as it was in the former times ; but the Government that professes to be the guardian of the people's interests will not allow them to reap the fruits which Nature so profusely offers them. Thus to-day the people of Bengal are forced to consume salt imported from foreign countries.

In the year 1905, the quantity consumed amounted to 40,000,000 mds. and the quantity produced in the country came to 32,000,000 mds. Thus twenty per cent. of the total quantity of salt consumed is to come from foreign countries. In fact, the annual importation of foreign salt amounts to 13,000,000 mds., and this quantity of salt is consumed mostly in Bengal where the people used to trade in salt and where the East India Company first established its monopoly in 1765. Such is the effect of economic injustice and trade by Government. Yet the people are blamed for their economically backward state.

It is well known to economists that any taxation on commodities which are subject to the law of Increasing Returns is injurious both to the Government and to the people. The

imposition of taxation raises the price, the demand diminishes and the industries contract, consequently the income of the Government from taxation diminishes also. This tendency is invariably true in the case of those commodities the demand for which is very elastic. Now demand both for cotton goods and salt is very elastic in India. A little reduction of taxation (*viz.*, 8 annas per maund) has greatly increased the consumption of salt; and yet the Government that says that the economic development of the country depends on the people never advocates either the further reduction, nor proposes the abolition of such taxes as are based on a wholly un-economic principle.

Every law has its own effect. If it is a bad law it will be detrimental to the interests of the people, wherever they may be. Economic laws know no geographical limitations. They are constant and unvarying in their operation. The principle or policy which the British people adopt to promote the interests of their own manufacturers and traders should be extended to the merchants and traders of India. They are struggling for their existence; though unfortunately their symptom of life is misunderstood and their activity misinterpreted. It is unjust not to give her people the same rights and powers to make laws relating to their commerce and trade as are given to the other members of the Empire. The people of India in spite of recurring famines, periodical plagues and ever-increasing poverty are working heroically to keep body and soul together. Do away with those laws that are detrimental to the industries of the country; give the people an adequate share in the making of laws for tariffs and commerce; let the future commercial policy of India be framed and shaped with the aid of the people themselves and if then the country does not progress commercially, the people may be blamed, but not until then.

AS AN INDIAN SEES AMERICA—V : THE SEAMY SIDE OF AMERICAN POLITICS.

BY MR. SAINT NIHAL SING.

THE manner in which political posts are doled out in the United States may be illustrated by a concrete example. In an Illinois town recently visited by the writer, a town of considerable size and activity, there is a Post Office in charge of the Federal Government of the United States. This Post Office does considerable business. Four mails are received and four mails go out on each week day and the office employs several rural free delivery carriers. One day the writer noticed an old, decrepit man, paralysed and ready to sink into the grave, being wheeled in a chair to the Post Office. This man had been in this condition for a number of years. On enquiry the writer learned that the paralytic was the Postmaster and had held his office for several consecutive four-year terms. The Government paid him Rs. 3,000 a year to conduct his duties as Postmaster of the town; but the man, being utterly incapable of doing anything, had hired a girl at Rs. 21 a week, who served as an excellent substitute. While this poor, voteless woman toiled and moiled at a poor pittance, the favourite of the Republican party, worthy of nothing but a berth in the State asylum, pocketed a munificent salary, because he had a great influence upon the voters of the town. The Post Offices of the United States really constitute the pickings of the Congressmen. The Postmaster is named on recommendation of the Congressman from that District. It happens, therefore, that if a man is of personal use to the Congressman, he is placed in the Post Office and kept there so long as his usefulness to the congressman continues.

It would be unfair to score the Republican Party and make it appear that the Democratic party is its superior. Both are on a par with the other, so far as graft goes.

Despite their blatant expressions to the contrary, Americans are poor weaklings, far from perfect. The American city may be a storm centre where democracy is buffeting with plutocracy ; Americans may be doing all in their power to fight privilege and establish a form of government that will be fair to all ; but, so far, plutocracy has held dominant sway in the country and to-day the money-power stalks the land with brazen impudence. The

business of the lawyer is supposed to be to teach the man with money how to evade the law. The barrister, with his whetted cunning, shows how far the criminally-inclined moneyed-man can go, and where he needs must stop. The judge seems to be on the bench for the purpose of declaring illegal and unconstitutional a law passed by the legislature—a ruling issued by another judge—which unfavourably reacts on the trust that has bought him to grant the special privilege the money-kings demand. We may sympathize with the American who is endeavouring to force the plutocrat to get off his back. We may give him our moral support. But we will not be bullied into the belief that his country is democratised thoroughly, and that the administration has successfully carried into effect the principle: “Equal rights to all and special privileges to none.”

We are simpletons—we Indians. We put too high a premium on what the foreigner says. An outlander comes along and in a blustering, conceited manner tells us that our country has the corruptest police—the corruptest public officials—in the world. Like fools we take up the refrain and begin to sing it a little more vociferously. But, if we were to examine the situation, we will more than likely learn that the foreigner, himself, lives in a glass house, and the best thing for us to do is to warn him to give up throwing stones. I have seen our own municipal elections and have heard, *ad infinitum, ad nauseatum*, that the Indian voter is open to bribery. I have taken up the refrain and sung it myself, dressing it up after the fashion of a newspaper-writer and singing it in a louder key. But I have had the opportunity of seeing a little bit of the world, not with the eyes somebody else has loaned me, but studying at first-hand the truth about conditions in other countries. I have seen the American exercising his voting rights. When I compare the voting conditions in my own country with those prevailing in the professedly most republicanized country in the world, I do not feel that I should hide my face for shame.

The intelligent American usually ascribes the irregularities at polling places to the foreign element settled in America. He points out in holy indignation that the men who hail from Russia, Poland, Italy, Greece, etc., are, for the most part, the refuse of the lands from which they come. The immigration laws of the country are not stringent enough, nor are the laws regulating

the grant of citizenship intelligent and strict enough to keep undesirable aliens out of the land in the first place, and prevent them from becoming voters in the second. This apology for vote manipulation is, in a measure, true and just, since the vote-buyer finds the low-grade immigrants who, in the eyes of the law, are citizens of the United States, but yet are far from being real Americans, extremely susceptible to the influence of money.

Graft in America, however, cannot be solely attributed to the delinquency of the foreign element. Children born and bred in the United States are inspired to be patriotic. In the schools the little folks are solemnly made to swear an oath of which the following is a type :

I do solemnly swear that when I am old enough to vote I will always defend the honor of the flag at the ballot box; that I will never sell my vote or buy the vote of another or permit the election laws to be broken if I can prevent the same; that I will not remain silent if I know of dishonesty in public affairs, but that I will put forth every effort to have the guilty public official exposed and punished; that I will always remember that first of all I am an American citizen, whose duty it is to place the welfare of my country above selfish greed or personal ambition. In this way I pledge myself to keep our flag unsullied.

Despite all these attempts to train the citizens of America, the lure of the dollar is so great in the country that born Americans are susceptible to the influence. Americans are so grossly materialistic and so money-mad that the vote manipulator finds it an easy task to bribe voters to vote as he desires them, for officials whom he bribes in turn to give him what he wants from the public crib.

When it is about time for municipal elections in an American city, a curious thing happens. About two months previous to the election day the wards begin to appear more populous. As soon as they arrive, the newcomers go to the place of registration and register their names on the books which contain the names of men who are eligible to vote for aldermen to be elected from the ward, and other city officials. When this newly arrived population is analysed it is learned that all the newcomers are men; that all belong to the "hobo" class—that is to say, they are ne'er-do-wells, tramps who steal rides on railway cars, beg food to eat, and stealthily sleep in cow barns on straw-heaps. These men are imported—"colonized". They will be fed and lodged at the expense of the alderman to be, or at that of the plutocrats who are anxious to elect their tool to the city council, so that their interests will be

safe-guarded. A two months' residence in the precinct entitles a man to vote--this is true in almost every large American city--and the votes of these "hobos," in the eyes of the law, are legal. In Chicago previous to the presiding election last Fall, investigators declared that they could turn up 2,000 such illegal voters in the river wards of the North and West sides. This would be but a drop in the bucket compared to the number of imported votes in the whole city. Thus money makes the mare go. Money elects the alderman and usually the alderman gets money enough to enrich himself and become a gentleman of leisure during a single term.

It is almost an utter impossibility for a foreigner to thoroughly comprehend the crooked devices employed by Americans at the ballot box. The American brain is peculiarly fitted to devise schemes that will fulfil the letter of the law and still attain the unrighteous end of the politician and the plutocrat back of him; and it is only the American brain that can sound the depths of such frauds. But even a foreigner cannot but see the iniquitous results of these frauds. The keeper of liquor shops, gambling houses and brothels bribes the police and other public servants with whom he is concerned, and thus is enabled to keep these establishments of infamy in a really illegal manner, to contaminate and destroy youth and to slide the criminally-inclined down the steep, smooth hill of degeneration. The town prohibits the sale of liquor; but an ingenious American restaurant-keeper hits upon a novel plan to evade the letter of the law. Whiskey is sold in sandwiches. Beer is sold in bottles labelled "Non-intoxicating beer." The law says that the saloons shall be shut on Sundays. The Mayor of the town interprets this law to mean that all liquor shops shall keep their front doors shut and their front windows shaded by opaque blinds. But the traffic in liquor goes on--a little more briskly on the Lord's day than on week days. The back door is left ajar and people go through it into the saloon who never would dare to pass through the front door. The inside of the saloon is brightly lit. Rioting, carousing, card games are the order of the day. Many a woman is wrecked in the wine room. Many a young man yields his life and prospects into the hands of an unscrupulous woman. This happens on the Sabbath as well as week day, day and night, ceaselessly, and the hands

of the people who would do everything in their power to alter the infamous system are tied by those who manipulate the votes of the simpleton-people of America, and they can do nothing to check the tide of crime and illegality.

Once in a while a good man gets into office. He is God-fearing, conscientious, with the desire to promote the good of the public surging in his heart. He gets into office despite the vote-manipulator—despite the trusts and the vested interests opposed to his election. The odds are against him, however. If he has been elected on a party ticket, the party masters demand of him things that he cannot conscientiously do. He may choose to, listen to the scruples of his conscience on pain of losing his job, since the angered party will not nominate him again. If he runs on a ticket independent of the parties he must fight the political organizations of the land. The vast resources of the parties will be leagued against him. He has little chance to succeed.

There is a man in Denver, Colorado, a just, good man. The whole world knows him and admires his work. Judge Ben B. Lindsey has perfected the fabric of the Juvenile Court—a social agency fraught with dynamic good. The intelligent world loves the man and it is but meet and proper that his own people should retain him in his post of Juvenile Court Judge and get the benefit of his ability in a position for which Judge Lindsey is peculiarly inclined and gifted. But the Judge is too conscientious to ally himself with the corrupt parties. He will have nothing to do with the dirty-linen washing, nor will he accept the tainted support of the keeper of a saloon and brothel, or use the money begotten of crime to help him retain his position at the forthcoming elections. He is an independent, conscience-guided man. Therefore the plutocrats do not want him—the vote-manipulators do not aid him. He has sought to exterminate saloons and houses of ill-fame where young men and young women buy tickets to perdition; and these interests are opposed to his election. The sequel of the matter is that every effort was made to defeat this man who was so pre-eminently fitted to be Judge of the Juvenile Court. In a recent personal letter Judge Lindsey wrote to me:—

I am just in the middle of a political campaign, running on an independent ticket for Juvenile Judge. The machines of both parties (Republican and Democratic) are against me, also the liquor and dive element.***I was

not nominated on either of the old party tickets for Juvenile Judge. Ninety per cent. of the people are for me, but under the present ballot law, it will be a hard matter to get enough votes to elect me.

What a shameless state of affairs does the letter of Judge Linsey exhibit! The parties in the infamous election of 1904 had so manipulated affairs that Judge Lindsey's election in the Spring was declared void, and it became necessary for him to run again in the Fall. Public meetings were being arranged in his behalf and little private committees organized to sway public interest to vote for Judge Linsey when, to his amazement, several days prior to the next convention the "henchmen" who did the bidding of the Republican boss, stated to the newspapers that there would be opposition to his nomination. He was sent for by William G. Evans, the political boss, who said to him: "It will not be necessary for you to organize your friends; there seems to be no use (and he smiled) for us to fight you and we have decided to nominate you when the convention meets next week." Judge Lindsey thanked the boss for his consideration and immediately abandoned all precautions such as women's meetings, which had won him a decided victory before. Two days before the convention met Judge Lindsey was dumbfounded to hear from a friend that the word was being quietly sent "down the line" to nominate another man for country and Juvenile Court Judge. When he became convinced of the double-dealing of which he was the victim, he gave the story to a Denver daily paper, which printed it, covering the entire first page, under the head-line "Treachery." On the morning of the convention Judge Linsey decided to go into the convention and "fight like hell," as he notified the Republican boss he proposed to do. He fought and won. The convention fight was declared to be one of the most dramatic that ever has occurred in American politics; but in this case public opinion was so strong that the bosses were forced to give in and nominate him on the regular ticket. He won.

The case has been gone into somewhat in detail, because it shows, better than words, the methods that are used in defeating a good man whom the people really want, because his nomination and election would be prejudicial to the interests of trusts. Judge Lindsey has never been forgiven by the party magnates, and now, when he runs for office, he is forced to run on an independent ticket.

A CONVERSATION ON CURRENT INDIAN TOPICS.

By A "PARSEE PUBLICIST".

I HAPPENED to make a somewhat long stay in a hotel in a large and flourishing Indian city with a wealthy and influential European population. My presence in the hotel was not objectionable to the European residents. They had their prejudices against Asiatics, but all along I was treated by them on terms of equality. I noticed soon after my arrival a well-groomed young Indian in up-to-date English dress with pleasant manners mix freely, and discuss with non-chalance various current topics of the day with Europeans who were anxious to learn what an Indian had to say on subjects which would in no small degree reflect on the character and reputation of the rulers of this country.

One warm October night I saw the Indian sitting after dinner on the hotel verandah with a small book in hand, and intently poring over it. I thought the book in his hand was some work on politics, but looking at it carefully from the place where I was, I found that it was a monograph on Whistler—that dandified, hidalgic artist of the Victorian years. A few minutes later he was joined by a man who appeared to be on the shady side of sixty, and had all the outward appearance of a Bhagdad Jew, but revealed himself to be a Christian Turk. The young Indian and the weather-beaten old Turk were evidently great friends, and got on together very well. The sparkling wit and the inexhaustible fund of Oriental wisdom of the latter were much appreciated by the former, who seldom uttered a note of discord to mar the conversation except when the subject of discussion was Indian politics. Not many minutes had passed before these two were joined by two other individuals. The one was a short, clean-shaven Englishman in the P. W. D., and the other was a thin, tall, sunburnt Scotchman. Both were smokers, but smoked in moderation. The quartette very soon began to discuss politics. I pulled a chair, took the *Pioneer* in hand, and settled down on the verandah with ears wide open, and in less than a minute got myself interested in what was transpiring.

The silent Scotchman mumbled a word or two with a pipe in his mouth, and before he had the opportunity of making himself properly heard the impatient Turk said :—

(Turk.) "Give the Indians what they want and the English will starve."

(Indian.) "You are doing injustice to the English. They are a resourceful race, and are bound to get on well even if India obtained self-government like other independent parts of the Europe."

(Englishman.) "But Indians will make a mess of the whole thing if self-government is granted to them."

(I.) "Who wants self-government in a ready-made tabloid form? No sane Indian wants everything at once. What he says is 'make an honest beginning in a spirit of true liberalism always having in mind a self-governing India in the end.'

The Scotchman whose pipe was still in his mouth was calm and undisturbed, and when he had his say he disclosed no small ignorance of Indian hopes and aspirations.

(Scotchman.) "I fail to see what they want."

(T.) Indignantly "To make Surendranath Bannerji the Viceroy of India. By God! I wouldn't live in such an India."

(I.) With a smile, "you would when the time came. But no one wants an Indian Viceroy."

(S.) "And are we to leave bag and baggage?"

(E.) "What about the English capital invested in this country?"

(I.) Why need you leave India? Haven't you largely invested in railways and mines in other countries and the colonies?"

(E.) "But the government departments now controlled by us would suffer if all Indians were employed."

(I.) "In what way? I may mention to you here that you are now running away with something else. We are on the question of English capital."

(E.) "The Indians haven't sufficient ability to manage their affairs."

(I.) "Yes, from your point of view. You can't confine yourself to the issue before us. The Germans think you are inefficient. Would you allow them to take charge of your government offices suppose you were convinced of their superiority?"

(S.) "No, certainly not."

(I.) "The other day you were talking of the corrupt practices of the Americans. Why don't you cross the Atlantic to eradicate the evil?"

(E.) "But look what we have done for India."

(I.) "I confess I can't argue with you. You jump from one point to another. In this way we shan't come to any definite conclusion."

(T.) "You Indians couldn't have introduced railways, telegraphs and the postal service. In my country the postal service is bad, and you can't travel in comfort and safety as you do here."

(I.) "I admit that railways have largely assisted in circulating and equalising the value of the produce of this country, but in pushing them hurriedly when they were working at a loss the interests of English capitalists

and merchants were principally taken into account. It is notorious that the railways have been extravagantly made. Sir John Lawrence condemned the extravagance of Indian railways in the strongest terms. The extension of railways ought to have been left entirely to private enterprise without a guarantee."

(S.) "What do you mean by 'Guarantee'?"

(I.) "You have been in this country pretty long to know what it means."

(E.) "The Indian Government guarantees to pay a certain fixed rate of interest to English capitalists in the event of loss suffered by the railway company."

(I.) "When we turn from railways to the subjects of irrigation works and education we turn from unwise extravagance to equalled unwise niggardliness. The schemes of Sir Arthur Cotton, the champion of irrigation, were never previously considered. He was looked upon as a visionary and a crank."

(S.) "You condemn railways, but how could you send European goods in the interior of India?"

(I.) "I don't condemn railways. From what you say it's clear that you want railways in India at the expense of the taxpayer to dump European goods in Indian markets and crush indigenous industries."

(S.) "Your country can't manufacture anything"

(I.) Do you know that one of the blessings of the present foreign rule is to make India absolutely dependent upon European countries for manufactured articles. Indian manufactures have been superseded by British principally since 1814. You people certainly can't be proud of your rule if facts and figures go to prove how India has been impoverished by the most vexatious system of duties imposed for favouring the mother-country. The people are conscious of their helplessness, and they have now, rather late in the day, resorted to *Swadeshiism*. The Government did not encourage native industries in the past and never for one moment thought of spreading technical education in the country."

(E.) "You are rather hard on us."

(I.) Plain speaking is often unpleasant. You are not angels but human beings like ourselves. You want to make as much money out of India as possible. Any other alien rule would have done just the same, but two wrongs don't make one right. An Englishman put it very honestly in one of his hebdomadal causeries in an Anglo-Indian newspaper that the Government of India was a purely business concern, and that it was not worked on philanthropic lines, that no Englishman would stay in India for a day if he could make as much in his own country. I quite agree with him. You remember the well-known dictum of Macaulay that the heaviest of all yokes is the foreign yoke. We Indians are endeavouring to lessen its weight by asking Government to steadily grant rights and privileges which are at present the monopoly of the ruling race."

The Turk could not control himself and at once trotted out an idea uppermost in his mind with an air of supreme import-

ance. He had spent the best part of his life with Anglo-Indians belonging to the Upper Ten and was very much inclined towards them. He wanted India to be kept under a strong Anglo-Indian rule, but not a rule of the Swashbuckler.

(T.) "The people ought not to be educated so much. They become insolent and 'gad about' a good deal."

(I.) "You are utterly mistaken in your views. It is the want of proper education that makes some behave recklessly. You can't stem the tide of education. It is the sacred duty of Government to see that higher education is made cheap and primary education free. There ought to be a larger number of science institutes and technical schools and colleges. You want a man like Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay for this. The principals and professors should work with more interest and show less aloofness. It is regrettable that in some Arts Colleges maintained by Government the European staff does not take much interest in the boys. They seem to imagine that eight or ten hours' teaching per week is all that is wanted from them. Things are worked differently in private colleges at Benares and Aligarh."

(E) "Don't you think we could put an end to discontent by stopping higher education."

(I.) "You could not do that now. It's a mistake to suppose that education is the sole cause of the present state of restlessness. There was education ten years ago but not so much discontent."

(T) "The English ought to say 'martial law and no damned nonsense.'"

(I.) "It would be driving sedition underground. And no Anglo-Indian with a sane head on his shoulders would ever think of smashing the hydra headed monster of sedition with any weapon of war. That may be the practice in Turkey, but Anglo-Indian rule with its faults is better than the late Turkish despotism."

The short tempered Turk was hurt to the quick, and began to show signs of departure, but the Indian soothed him by asking him to take his armchair and give up an uncomfortable bentwood chair in which he was seated. The Englishman as was his wont called for a half whisky and soda. He offered drinks to others, but both the Turk and the Indian thanked him saying that they were not used to whisky and soda. The silent Scotchman had a small dose of "Highland Cream" to keep company with the Englishman, and the four once more picked up the thread of their piquant interchange of sentiments.

(E.) "You want your own men to be consulted by Government. I doubt whether it is always possible."

(I.) "You are unwilling to listen to our men lest they would say some brutal truths which would be unpleasant to you. Take for instance the burden of £ 300,000 per annum imposed on the Indian Exchequer in the recent readjustment of the army charges. We don't know by what system of mathematics this figure was arrived at. Our men were never consulted,

and we shall always remain in the dark about this mysterious military charge. The announcement in the House of Commons that the report of the Romer Commission will not be placed on the table will give rise to suspicion in the minds of educated classes that there is something in the report which if disclosed would show that India has been unjustly and unfairly treated. And the reasons given for the enhancement of the charges are such as to make a cat laugh."

(E.) "Yes, I think this secrecy is bound to dissatisfaction some people. I dare say there is nothing done to prejudice Indian interests."

(I.) "Then why not let us have a look at the committee's report?"

(E.) "Oh, I don't know."

(I.) The British rule in India is not an unmixed blessing. The people don't positively hate it, but at the same time they don't love it inasmuch as you want to reign and not govern India. Unless the policy of your rule leads to '*India for the Indians*,' your rule will not be popular. You ought in the interest of England to make India a *part* of the Empire and not keep it by a show of military force a mere *possession*. Your statesmen call India 'the brightest jewel in the British Crown,' 'the pivot round which the Empire turns,' the most important limb of the 'Empire,' and all the rest of it, but they don't move their little finger to satisfy the legitimate demands of the people. The present Liberal Government is expected to do much towards pacifying the people, but when the much-talked of reforms come to be published they will not satisfy all. We shan't refuse what little we get, but your Anglo-Indians will grudge us the crumbs of the loaves which they now enjoy. India is on the threshold of a great political struggle which will grow in keenness with the growth of time. The people are bound to succeed in the end for they believe that truth and justice are on their side.

(E.) "Yes, the people's demands must be conceded slowly."

(I.) "Your endeavour must be to make India a contented, happy and prosperous country by a wise and sympathetic policy, and the co-operation of the educated classes. You will then find that the lustre of the British Empire will for centuries remain the admiration of the whole world. I think we have had not an unprofitable little discussion. We might go on for a few minutes more, but it's high time we went to bed to forget the worries of this work-a-day world."

(S.) "Well, let's see what we could do to make India more contented."

(I.) "You can do a lot if you choose. Good night."

The Indian and the Turk left the verandah at ten minutes past eleven. All through the conversation there prevailed a good bonhomie between the four, and it seemed to me that the Englishman was appreciably affected by what the Indian unhesitatingly and fearlessly said. The sunburnt Scotchman whose sunburntness was indicative of too much open air exercise could not closely follow all that was said, but he was not in any way unsympathetic towards the views advanced by the

young Indian party. When all the four had departed I put the *Pioneer* back in its proper place with a firm belief that in India political consciousness had awakened, and that it would be an act of insanity on the part of the British to treat the people in a cavalier fashion.

In the management and control of the vast continent of India with its varying types of civilisations, the British have imposed upon themselves a task fraught with difficulties and danger which some of them are now beginning to realise. It is much to be regretted that they shut their eyes to the teachings of history and allow themselves to be coaxed into the belief that the best doctrine to govern India is the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. Full fifty years ago when the Crown cheerfully accepted the Indian administration from the hands of the East India Company, a note of warning was sounded by some who prophetically divined into the future that the deaf, dumb and blind millions will one day find in the educated classes their sturdy champions, and with the spread of education the ideas of liberty and equality will filter through the different strata of society till they reached the humblest and the most neglected, and therefore the most easily combustible materials. The Universities turned out every year scores of diplomaed young men in whom was kindled a desire to play some part in the administration of their country, but they soon discovered to their disappointment that the doors leading to higher appointments were jealously kept close for the benefit of what the late Lord Salisbury called "our boys." What was the object in starting university education and drumming into the heads of Indian youths the shibboleths of English economists and apostles of liberty such as Mill and Burke if not to train them, and make them fit to accept the responsibilities and duties of governing their own country? There can be no doubt the educated classes form a fertile soil for the growth and spread of discontent and therefore it is to the interest of Great Britain to see that they are made to assist Government in maintaining the fabric of the British Indian Empire, for it is the educated men who have to be considered, and to them an alien rule is not and cannot be a rule without prodigious drawbacks.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

Gladstone: His Life and Work *

By MR. H. OSMAN NEWLAND.

I have served under several Prime Ministers, men for whom I had high respect and to whom I had the greatest attachment, but I can say that I never knew one who showed a finer temper, a greater patience, or more consideration for his colleagues than Mr. Gladstone in all deliberations on any important subject. In his official position, with his knowledge, with his ability, and with the wonderful power of work that characterises him, he has, of course, an immense influence on the deliberations of the cabinet, but notwithstanding his tenacity of purpose and his earnestness, it is quite extraordinary how he attends to the arguments of all, and, except on any question of real vital principle, he is ready to yield his own opinion to the general sense of the colleagues over whom he presides.

SUCH was the tribute of Lord Granville in 1883 to the nineteenth century statesman who is commonly supposed to have been the tyrant of his cabinets, ruling by his inflexible personality, and persuading the masses by a stormy and almost ungovernable eloquence. But greater still is the encomium on the "Grand Old Man" of English politics,—as he has been fondly termed by his supporters and admirers—in the volumes which lie before us, penned by the able lieutenant of his later policy, John Morley.

To attempt to depict a genius of such versatility, a statesman who held the office of Prime Minister in Britain for a longer period than any other in the extended reign of Queen Victoria, a man whose vicissitudes of opinion, endless surprises, and a strange blending of qualities seldom found together, made him an enigma to many, and an idol to more—this is indeed a Herculean task which few would attempt, or attempting, could possibly succeed, as John Morley has done. One could almost wish that so excellent a biographer, so scientific a critic, so artistic, simple, and dignified a writer could have remained longer as a member of the opposition instead of being called to office, that the republic of letters might be further enriched with such gems of literature. Nor can we, in passing, refrain from extolling the public spirit and lofty enterprise of Messrs. Edward Lloyd, the publishers of the present popular edition of this biography, in placing within the reach of the masses so comprehensive a sketch of the most conservative of English Liberal statesmen.

William Ewart Gladstone was born at 62, Rodney St., Liverpool, December 29th, 1809, and came from a north country family which

* *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone.* By John Morley (now Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India). Popular Edition 2 Vols. Edward Lloyd, London, 5 s. net.

settled in Scotland after the Restoration. His father, John Gladstone, was a successful merchant who, besides a large East Indian trade, owned plantations in the West Indies, which happened to be the centre of the slave rising in 1823. This slave outbreak, and the death of its missionary John Smith was the "beginning of the end" of Slavery. John Gladstone was a member of Parliament at the time, and was naturally plunged into the heat of the controversy raised by Wilberforce whom the Gladstones regarded as "a well-meaning but mistaken man." When the emancipation came, John Gladstone received over £75,000 for 1609 slaves, although it was estimated that a slave was worth about £114 between the years 1822 and 1830. At that time even deeply religious people thought nothing of being slave-holders, and many of them would point the anti-slavery politicians,—and not without reason—to the fearful white slavery at home. William Gladstone was brought up in such a home. He himself has shown us some glimpses of his early life in his diaries and letters. "I was not," he says, "a devotional child. I have no recollection of early love for the House of God and for divine service, neither was I a popular boy. If I was not a bad boy, I was a boy with a great absence of goodness." His tutor did not influence him and his days at Eton were without great incident or merit, although his letters home are marked with much affection. The first inklings of future greatness in Gladstone appear during the latter part of his University career, in his brilliant contributions to the debates at the Oxford Union, particularly that on Reform (May 17th, 1831). When Gladstone sat down, one of his contemporaries wrote:—"We all of us felt that an epoch in our lives had occurred."

After taking his bachelor degree (January 26th, 1832) he set off for the usual European tour which forms the finishing touch of the educational epoch of the upper classes; and while at Milan he received the offer of a seat at Newark, in the gift of the Duke of Newcastle. His first election addresses are interesting when we remember his subsequent career. Briefly, they advocated correction of the poor laws, a dignified and impartial foreign policy, union of church and state, non-emancipation of slaves until Christian instruction had fitted them for it, adequate remuneration of labour, and allotment of college grounds. Although Gladstone was seeking a Tory seat, it will be noticed that in the first and the two last points there is already a slight indication of revolt against extreme Toryism, and of sympathy for the oppressed or brow-beaten derived from Canning, whose influence, Gladstone himself admits, "governed the politics of my childhood and youth."

Gladstone was returned at the head of the poll. On June 3rd, 1833, he made his first lengthy speech in Parliament, in defence of his

father's slave plantations. In it he looked forward to the emancipation of the slaves by a slow and gradual process, lest without a prepared education for liberty the freed slave might be his own worst enemy. The speech was a great success; but compared with his future policy, his early voting in the House seems extraordinary. He was against the admission of Jews into Parliament, although later he recommended a Jew for a peerage. He opposed the admission of dissenters without a test to the Universities, although later in life he became their idolised leader. He voted against a property tax, and the repeal of the Corn Laws, against the publication of the division lists, shorter Parliaments, repeal of house and window taxes, abolition of military and naval sinecures, abolition of flogging in the army except for mutiny and drunkenness, and against voting by ballot; almost all of these being subsequently carried by his own Government. Yet his mind and feelings even at this time, were humane and sympathetic, for we read in his diary at this period "Had to kill a wounded partridge, and felt as if I had shot an albatross." "Saw Highland women with babies carrying heavy loads. Ah! with what labour does a large portion of mankind subsist, while we fare sumptuously every day."

In December 1834, Gladstone received his first appointment to the Treasury; a few months later when only twenty-five years of age he was Under-Secretary for the Colonies in Peel's administration and in 1843 President of the Board of Trade with a seat in the cabinet. His experiences in office, led him to modify many of his views. Lord John Russell was able to commend him for his liberal treatment of colonial matters in 1837; and he stood by Sir Robert Peel in his Corn Law Reforms, and by the general policy of that minister for many years after Peel had ceased to live.

The history of the split in the Conservative party at that time was somewhat analogous to that at the present time. There were Unionist Free Traders and Unionist Protectionists; and the latter managed to capture the party after Peel's death, although when they came into power they dropped their Protectionist schemes, as the Tariff Reformers will doubtless do in the next Parliament. The Peelites made a coalition with the Liberals,—as it is being suggested the Unionist Free Traders of to-day should do,—and Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer of the coalition party in 1853.

When President of the Board of Trade he had endeavoured to bring about the public acquisition of the railways, then beginning to be the principal means of communication in England; and, in his Railway Act of 1844, he not only secured the definite provision for cheap workmen's trains, but reserved to the State the full right of intervention, and option of purchase at the end of a certain term at twenty-five years'

purchase of the divisible profits. Now, a Chancellor of the Exchequer, he boldly swept away many duties on necessaries, and lowered many others, while increasing the duty on spirits, and extending the income tax and the legacy duty. His colleagues in the cabinet were frightened; but Gladstone's oratory carried the day and won congratulations from the Queen and the Prince Consort. His second budget in 1860, repealing the paper duty, increasing the income tax, establishing the commercial treaty between England and France, by which England abolished all duties on manufactured articles and reduced those on wine and brandy --was no less successful. His fame as financier resounded throughout Europe, and it rested not so much upon his oratory as upon his unswerving faith in certain fixed aims. "The state thrives best," said he, "which dives deepest down in the mass of the community and adapts its arrangements to the wants of the greatest number...To benefit the labouring classes and to do the maximum of good, it is not enough to operate upon the articles consumed by them; you should rather operate on the articles that give them the maximum of employment."

In 1866 Gladstone was Leader of the House of Commons; in 1867 he introduced his Reform Bill to extend the franchise. His party was defeated; and his brilliant but less scrupulous opponent, Mr. Disraeli, carried a Bill almost identical in character the following year. In 1868 Gladstone became Prime Minister; and the Liberal or Gladstonian party, as it was often called, dominated the country for several years, returning with a renewed lease of power in 1873. Its most notable efforts during that time were the Disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Bill of 1870 for free and compulsory education.

Of Gladstone's later work, his further extension of the franchise in 1884 to its present basis, his foreign policy,—especially his sentimental attitude against Turkey and his vacillating wars in Egypt and South Africa—and his "Home Rule for Ireland" measures,—all these are matters more of contemporary history. The ashes of controversy on these matters are still hot, and it is difficult to speak or judge of them without a bias. John Morley himself recognises that he cannot be indifferently neutral in a work produced in a spirit of loyal and affectionate remembrance and certainly he glosses over the policy of evacuation in Egypt and of disaster in the Transvaal. He regards with equanimity Gladstone's colonial policy, especially as regards Canada which he was apparently quite willing to sacrifice to the United States; he recognizes, it is true, the paradoxes of and the discrepancies between the two Home Rule bills of 1886 and 1892; but he perceives no lack of political sagacity in thrusting for the second time before an unwilling people, a bill, the far-reaching results of which might divide and segregate the peoples of the British Islands.

Nor does India receive much notice in this political biography written by her Secretary of State. Scarcely more than half a dozen references of a few sentences in length are made to Indian affairs throughout the two volumes; and the comparison between the Government of Ireland and India is not altogether one that can be appreciated or understood. "India" he says, "has on the whole been governed with a pretty full perception of its differences from England; Ireland is governed by an absentee parliament." Still, this biography is a monument of literary skill, careful judgment, and quick perception of the secret strength of the Grand Old Man of the nineteenth century in England. The biographer and lieutenant of Gladstone cannot sympathise with his old colleague and master in matters ecclesiastical or spiritual, but he is quick to recognize that in William Gladstone "political life was only part of his religious life. It was religion that prompted his literary life. It was religious motive that through a thousand avenues and channels stirred him and guided him in his whole conception of active social duty... His political career might seem doubtful but there was no doubt about the man. Habitually he strove for the lofty uplands where political and moral ideas meet." Added to the religious temperament, his biographer continues, "he was born with a frame of steel. Though he often knew fatigue and weariness he was seldom ill." Last but not least in his composition was strength and steadfastness of will. "When asked what he regarded as his master secret, he always said concentration." Such was the man and such his career. Both are eloquently depicted in this masterly book; and not the least pathetic and eloquent is the story of his last days, the tribute of home and foreign statesmen, and the picture of the solitary figure of his wife at the head of the grave. Many statesmen have left perhaps more glorious memorials of their work behind them, but few have so ingrained themselves in the institutions of their country or impressed upon the State so vividly their own personality.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH : WOODROFFE AND AMIR ALI'S CIVIL PROCEDURE.*

BY DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, M. A., LL.D.

GOOD wine, according to an old saying, needs no bush, and a good book, in the same way, needs no praise from a reviewer. Messrs. Woodroffe and Amir Ali require no 'booming,' whenever they appear as authors, and we should have dispensed with the customary courtesy of a review of their book, were it not that the new Code has brought in its train quite a surfeit of commentaries each claiming for itself 'unequalled merit.' The conservative instincts of the profession will, however, prefer to rely upon writers whose reputation is already made and who have established their claim upon the allegiance of the profession. Messrs. Woodroffe and Amir Ali may, therefore, well count upon a warm reception of their new book by the profession. Their high judicial position, added to their reputation as scholars and the ability and skill which they have always displayed in their work - joint or separate - ought to be a sufficient guarantee for the real utility of their commentary upon the new Code of Civil Procedure. But it is not merely an assumption of this character that leads us to welcome the book. We have carefully examined the general plan of the commentary and read a large number of the notes by the learned writers, and we can safely say that their high reputation is well-sustained and that as their book on the Law of Evidence has come to occupy the position of the standard work on the subject, so will the present volume take its place among the large number of commentaries that have been published.

The new Code is, as pointed out by the learned commentators, to a large extent what it was. At the same time amendments of considerable importance have been made, and these have been printed in italics so as to attract the notice of the reader at once. The amendments which have been made, have been dealt with historically, that is to say, the learned writers have given not only literary exposition but they have also taken care to state in the case of each amendment the differences of judicial opinion or other causes which led to it, and the difficulties which the Legislature intends to remove by enacting it. As regards precedents, some 9,470 have been referred to in the book, and the learned authors have, whenever necessary, given English rulings.

* *Civil Procedure in British India : A Commentary on Act V of 1908.*
By John George Woodroffe, M. A., B. C. L., and Ameer Ali, Syed, M. A., C. I. E.,
(Thacker, Spink & Co.; Calcutta and Simla.) 1908. Price Rs. 24.

It is, however, to be regretted that the area of selection has been limited in India to the Indian Law Reports or the older reports--with the natural exception in favour of the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* and the *Calcutta Law Journal* among the current reports. Such important legal publications as the *Madras Law Journal*, the *Bombay Law Reporter* and the *Allahabad Law Journal*, might well have been utilized. The Punjab Reports too might well have been pressed into service. The reader will find constant references to Mr. Hukam Chand's well-known treatises, but what he will not appreciate is the reference to the cases noted in O'Kinealey's *Code of Civil Procedure*. The practising lawyer would like the book to be self-sufficient in this respect, though it would necessarily involve an increase in the bulk of it. This, however, does not mean that there should be no discrimination allowed to a commentator and that he is bound to crowd his pages with references to rulings of all sorts and varying degrees of soundness.

The annual output of our Courts is truly appalling, and the best of memories must at times despair of bearing the pressure which is put upon it by every issue of law reports and law journals. For one thing the tendency to depend upon precedents, when a correct and courageous apprehension of principle alone should suffice, is to be much deplored. It is impairing, if it has not already killed, in many lawyers vigorous originality and correct reasoning and the modern lawyer who wants an authority for everything, however simple, is a long way removed from his ancestors of an earlier generation, who breathed a freer atmosphere and who could fight their cases upon their own innate strength. It is the same in England as in India. Anything like the celebrated argument of Sir Samuel Romilly in *Huguenin v. Baseley*, to which succeeding generations of lawyers have attached all the weight of a judicial pronouncement, is as difficult to expect at the present day in the pages of English reports, as it is difficult to expect in the pages of an Indian report anything like the argument of great Indian lawyers, who argued some well-known cases reported in the earlier reports. Truly, we live in days of reflected glory. At the same time it is difficult to see how it can be otherwise. Anglo-Indian law is in its essence English law and it is notorious that English law is pre-eminently judge-made law. The acceptance of the continental view of judicial precedents must mark a revolution in the entire English legal system, but that revolution is much beyond our ken, and till then we can only hope that the dictates of commensense may be allowed to have at least as much chance as the injunctions of the instincts of 'the trained and case-hardened lawyer.' Our authors have done well in entering a protest, albeit a mild one, against making a fetish of 'procedure' in this country. It is worthy of note

that even in entering this protest, they have had to fortify themselves by reference to high judicial authority. For, they quote the following dictum of Lord Penzance: "Procedure is but the machinery of the law after all—the channel and means whereby law is administered and justice reached. It strangely departs from its proper office when, in place of facilitating, it is permitted to obstruct and even extinguish legal rights, and is thus made to govern when it ought to subserve."

What striking results may flow from overlooking this wholesome view may best be illustrated by a reference to the enormous mass of case-law that had gathered round the provisions of section 244 of the old Code, which substantially corresponds to section 47 of the present Code. Whether an auction-purchaser was the representative of the decree-holder or the judgment-debtor, or both or neither, was alone a question which vexed the ingenuity of a number of Judges in every Court. Whether an auction-purchaser who had failed to obtain actual possession over the property purchased could seek to recover possession as against the judgment-debtor, by proceeding under that section or by a regular suit, seemed to defy all unanimity on the part of Judges, and now that the Allahabad High Court has since the publication of the book had a chance of delivering its opinion on the question, we find that it has not been able to secure unanimity among its members. It is obvious that an unsophisticated auction-purchaser who has paid good money for a property, does not care at all, whether he gets possession under section 244 or by regular suit, so long as he gets possession anyhow. It is not difficult to conceive that many an auction-purchaser has never obtained possession at all, though he has paid the King's coin for the property. You may quote any number of Latin maxims and Indian rulings to establish his fault, to prove that he ought to have known better and acted more quickly, but you cannot meet his simple question—"Did I purchase *through you* property or botheration? Give me my property and then you can fight out over correct procedure." We are glad to note that Messrs. Woodroffe and Ameer Ali have presented their notes upon this troublesome section fully, lucidly and carefully. It is to be hoped that the sound advice of Lord Penzance will be followed more consistently in this country by our Courts, more specially as their hands have been strengthened by the addition of a new section. We refer to section 151 which says "nothing in this case shall be deemed to limit or otherwise affect the inherent power of the Court to make such orders as may be necessary for the ends of justice or to prevent abuse of the process of the Court."

The provisions the old Code regarding the execution of decrees have been very carefully revised by the Legislature, but it is too

early to say whether the changes enacted in the new Code will fulfil the expectations formed. Be that as it may, we are glad to find that the learned commentators have spared no pains in making this part of their book really useful to the profession. Their notes to the new provisions regarding pleadings will also be found useful by *mofussil* practitioners. We cannot, however, be at all sure whether the readers will be satisfied with the treatment which the provisions relating to Arbitration have received in the book. We think that the mere fact that the Legislature has expressed its intention of shortly dealing with the subject afresh in a separate Act, should not have been allowed to stand in the way of a fuller treatment in this book. We have no doubt that a second edition will soon be called for, and that it will make good the deficiencies pointed out which, however, do not affect the general utility of the book. We have already said that the book, bearing as it does marks of scholarship, ability, lucid exposition and careful arrangement, will easily take the leading place among the commentaries on the new Code, and we may congratulate the learned authors upon the manner in which they have discharged their work. The publishers, Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., have also more than sustained their high reputation as publishers. The get-up and the general appearance of the book are quite in keeping with its substance.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE *Government of England* by Professor Lowell of the Harvard University (MacMillan & Co.) is, both owing to the fascination of the subject and the masterly treatment which has been accorded to it by the author, a book of unique interest not only to Englishmen but also to educated Indians. The fact of our connection with England and the knowledge that the political evolution of our country is to take place on democratic lines can not but make every intelligent and public-spirited Indian citizen take an interest in the Government of a country where Constitutional Government has attained highest perfection. "Measured," says Professor Lowell, "by the standards of duration, absence of violent commotions, maintenance of law and order, general prosperity and contentment of the people, and by the extent of its influence on the institutions and political thought of other lands, the English Government has been one of the most remarkable the world has ever known." And it is an account of this remarkable Government that Mr. Lowell gives us in his book, and it is but bare justice to say that his two volumes are as lucid and interesting as Mr. Bryce's *American Commonwealth*. The American author displays as much sympathy, knowledge and mastery of detail in dealing with the British Monarchy as the British author displayed in discussing the American Republic. The different sections of Professor Lowell's book deal with (1) The Central Government, (2) The Party System, (3) The Local Government, (4) Education, (5) The Church, (6) The Empire and (7) The Courts of Law and the author is quite at home in the discussion of these different topics. His account is not only accurate and full but also impartial and dispassionate. Learned he certainly is, but he is the master, not the slave of his learning. The British constitution is no doubt illogical and Englishmen, as Professor Lowell remarks, "usually succeed in confounding utterly all general principles and making all general statements inaccurate." But this very illogicalness is one of its chief merits. It is impossible to read these pages without realising that the British Government is a living organism, cabinned and confined to some extent no doubt by precedent and tradition, but ever expanding and improving and always ready to respond to the call of its environment. It is this freedom and spontaneity which distinguishes it in such a remarkable manner from paper constitutions of many other countries, and its story, as told by Professor Lowell, is well worth the study of all thinking men. Professor Lowell's *Government of England* is a

work of the highest merit and it will deservedly take rank with such political classics as Mr. Bryce's *American Commonwealth* or Mr. Bodley's *France*. We would strongly recommend that it may be prescribed as a text-book by our Universities.

The Government of India by Mr. Syam Sundar Das, B. A., of the Central Hindu College, Benares (Published by the Indian Press, Allahabad), is an attempt to do in a more improved and less controversial form what Sir William Lee-Warner attempted to do in his *Citizen of India*. This little book of 139 pages is really, as the author himself frankly admits in the preface, a compilation, an abstract in fact of certain portions of the fourth volume of the new *Imperial Gazetteer*, from which, for the most part, even the language has been freely borrowed. It is divided into ten chapters. The author has wisely confined himself to a narration of facts and avoided all controversy, but we gravely doubt whether the school master in whose hands a subject like this is placed, can do likewise. Of course, if he does not know or care for his subject, he will teach it mechanically in the mere spirit of routine. But if there be genuine teaching, then difficulties are bound to spring up. For instance, when the question of Home Charges is discussed, how can an honest teacher help telling his pupils that the payment of the charges of the Secretary of State's establishment by India is a grave piece of injustice. The same is the case with questions like the relations of Residents and the rulers of Native States, the invasion of Tibet by the Anglo-Indian forces, etc. A conscientious teacher must speak some unpleasant truths in connection with such questions. And yet, we are afraid, that under the condition of things which now prevail, such a teacher will have short shrift. We hope that before introducing a subject like this in our schools, the Government will give their best consideration to the point which we have raised above. Mr. Syam Sundar Das has, however, done his best under somewhat difficult circumstances and deserves encouragement at the hands of the reading public. There are a few slips here and there, which we hope will be rectified in the second edition. The correct Persian word for the Collector of revenue is not *amalguzar* but *malguzar* (p. 4) and Aurangzeb's reign can hardly be said to have witnessed the rise of Sikh Power (p. 5). It did witness the rise of Maratha power but the Sikhs did not become a 'power' till many years after. The Tehsildars are not called Mamlattards in Bengal (p. 37) but in the Bombay Presidency and the ruler of our Provinces is no longer called the Chief Commissioner of Oudh (p. 38). This designation was abrogated when the name of the *United Provinces* was adopted and at present the ruler of these provinces is simple styled the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The relations

of the British Government with Persia are in the hands of the Foreign Office and not of the Colonial Office (p. 58). The matriculation or an equivalent examination conducted by one of the five Universities in India is not the only public examination which an English school student has to undergo (p. 101) and not one-sixth (p. 126) but practically the whole of Bengal is permanently settled.

Last year we noticed, at some length, a Bengali book of uncommon merit, entitled *Upanishader Upadesh*, vol. I, by Pandit Kokileswar Vidyaratna M. A. of Cooch Behar (of whom the book can be had). The learned author has just brought out the second volume of the work which, we are glad to notice, will but enhance his reputation as a thorough master and capable teacher of the *Upanishads*. In this volume, a clear and lucid translation of the text and Sankara-Bhasya of *Katha* and *Mundaka* Upanishads have been given. The easy flow, the charming style and masterly diction of the language, coupled with a very lively and brilliant manner in which the subject-matter has been dealt with, have made the book a most pleasant reading and this is the best recommendation of a book of this nature. The very sombre nature of the language in which most of the philosophical treatises are generally presented scares away a good many readers at the outset. But in regard to the beautiful diction and the manner of treatment of the book under review, we can unhesitatingly say that in this respect alone, it can hold its own against the best philosophical works produced in that prolific vernacular literature—Bengali. We repeat our remarks made a year before when we received the first part of the work that the learned author has, by means of this book, opened the door of the knowledge of the Upanisads—the *Brahma-jnan* to the common people who can read Bengali only—and he has also at the same time enriched his own vernacular literature. The Introduction appended to the book is its most striking feature. It is a study in itself; and we feel sure that it will amply repay a very close and careful perusal. We never came across such an admirable introduction in any book in Bengali or other Indian vernacular. In it the author examines the Vedanta philosophy in all its details, according to the light thrown by the commentaries of the great Sankara and he expounds the great *máyábad* with a clearness nowhere to be found. The *máyábad* of Sankara has been misunderstood and misinterpreted by many. Even scholars of great eminence—let alone the common people—have thought that Sankara did not acknowledge the existence of the cosmos, holding it to be false and illusory and that his idea of *Brahma* was a sort of *vacuum*—without consciousness, without power—something like a cypher—a non-entity. Some have gone so far as to

brand that great Acharyya as an atheist, a *Bouddha* at heart. The readers of the Introduction will find how ably and brilliantly the learned author has proved, beyond all possible doubt, that the charges laid at the door of Sankara have been without any foundation and it is owing to ignorance or misunderstanding of the teachings of the great master that such false notions have had their origin. In short, the Pandit Vidyaratna has succeeded in vindicating the name and fame of Sankara and established the claims of his doctrines as the most intelligent and accurate thoughts ever evolved from human mind in metaphysics, and he has proved that these doctrines have nothing to suffer, if examined in the lurid light of the most advanced scientific truths of modern Europe. We heartily recommend the work to the readers of the younger generation and we doubt not that their hearts will swell, in reading its pages, with a just pride at the depth of knowledge their forefathers possessed. We are glad to observe that a Hindi-translation of the first part of the work has been undertaken by Pandit Nandakishore Sukla Banibhusan.

UP-TO-DATE.

We have received from Messrs. Natesan and Co., the enterprising publishers of Madras, copies of their two most recent publications—*The Madras Congress and Conference* and *The Reform Proposals*. The first booklet is a collection of all the Inaugural and Presidential Addresses delivered at the Indian National Congress, the Industrial, Social, Temperance, Theistic, and Ladies' Conferences. The volume also contains the full text of the Resolutions passed at these Assemblies. The price of the book is annas eight a copy. The second book, *The Reform Proposals*, is a handy volume of 180 pages containing the full text of Lord Morley's Despatch; the Despatch of the Government of India; the Debate in the House of Lords with the speeches of Lord Morley, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Macdonnell; Mr. Buchanan's statement in the House of Commons; the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's scheme presented to the Secretary of State for India and his speech at the Madras Congress on the Reform proposals. The price of the book is annas six.

In the *Hindustan Review* for July, 1906, in the course of a survey of "Our Illustrated Publications," we noticed the *Empress* of Calcutta as "a large-sized fortnightly, which holds its own as a high-class illustrated Journal, and is conducted on the lines of the well-known illustrated weeklies of London." Since the beginning of this year, Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.—who were the publishers of the Journal—have become sole proprietors of it, the late proprietor and editor, Mr. Parker, having retired home. The new proprietors announce that "while the old policy—which has resulted in making the *Empress* the premier illustrated paper in India—will be continued, novel and pleasing features will be introduced and no effort spared to make it bright and interesting." The two numbers issued—under the new management—in January, amply fulfil the expectations raised in the above announcement, and we are prepared to endorse the claim as to the *Empress* being "the premier illustrated paper in India." We have only one suggestion to make, that the Journal should soon be converted by the new proprietors—whose resources as printers and publishers are undoubtedly the greatest in the country—into a weekly. A fortnightly illustrated Journal is an anachronism even in India.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

1. *The Code of Civil Procedure*: Being Act No. V of 1908, with a Commentary. By (the late) J. O'Kinealy and (Sir) Robert Fulton (Rampini), M. A., LL. B., Revised and brought up to date by Harry Stokes, Bar.-at-Law. Two volumes. (S. K. Lahiri & Co. 54, College Street, Calcutta). 1908. Price Rs. 18.
2. *The Indian Practice*: A Commentary on the Code of Civil Procedure. (Act No. 5 of 1908) and Matters of Civil Practice. By M. L. Agarwala, B. Sc., LL.B., Bar.-at-Law. Two volumes. (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad). 1908. Price Rs. 12.
3. *Sohoni's Code of Criminal Procedure*. Sixth edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged. By S. Swaminadhan, M. A., LL. B., B. Sc., PH. D., Bar.-at-Law. (The Deccan Book Agency, Poona). 1908. Price Rs. 20.
4. *Hindu Family Law*: As Administered in British India. By (Sir) Ernest John Trevelyan, D. C. L., Bar.-at-Law. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla). 1908. Price Rs. 16.
5. *Cunningham's Indian Evidence Act*. Eleventh edition. By Sir Horatio Halo Shephard, M. A., LL. B., Bar.-at-Law. (Higginbotham & Co., Madras). 1908. Price Rs. 12.
6. *Insanity in India*: Its Symptoms and Diagnosis. (With reference to the Relation of Crime and Insanity). By Major G. F. W. Ewon, M. D., I. M. S. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla). 1908. Price Rs. 8.
7. *The Principles of the Law of Interest in British India*. By Edmund Upton, Bar.-at-Law. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla). 1908. Price Rs. 4.
8. *The Provincial Insolvency Act*. Being an Annotated edition of Act III of 1907. By A. P. Muddiman, I. C. S. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla). 1908. Price Rs. 8.
9. *Memorandum of Practice in Civil Cases*. By W. J. Howard, LL. B., Bar.-at-Law. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla.) 1908. Price Rs. 2.
10. *The Oudh Rent Act* (Act XXII of 1886); with notes by Mata Prasad Saksema, B. A., and Mahraj Narain Varma, pleaders, Hardoi. Mercantile Printing Press, Meerut. 1908. Price Rs. 3.
11. *Effects of War on Property*: Being Studies in International Law and Policy. By Alma Latif, M.A., LL.B., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law. With a Note on "Belligerent Rights at Sea," by John Westlake, K.C., LL.D., D.C.L. (Macmillan & Co., London.) 1909. Price 5s.

A LAW book which has passed through no less than six editions and has been the constant companion of Judges and Civil Court practitioners for more than a generation, needs little commendation at the hands of a reviewer. The Commentary on the Code of Civil Procedure, which was first prepared by the late Mr. (Justice) O'Kinealy, took its rank—as soon as it was published—as the leading edition of the Code. The fifth and sixth editions were prepared by another distinguished Judge, Sir Robert Fulton (Rampini) and they retained in public estimation the premier position which the book had come to occupy in Anglo-Indian legal literature. The

present edition has been brought out by Mr. Harry Stokes, of the Calcutta bar. In bringing out the last (fifth) edition of Dr. Field's well-known *Law of Evidence in British India*, Mr. Stokes gave ample proof of his capability for the work of a commentator and annotator, and we find in his present work evidence of the same skill and scholarship, which we commended in noticing his edition of Dr. Field's book. Mr. Stokes has completely overhauled and thoroughly recast the subject-matter of the last edition of Mr. O'Kinealy and Sir Robert Rampini's work and in skilfully adapting it to the present Code, he has fully brought it up to date. The arrangement of the subject-matter is well nigh perfect, by reason of breaking up the annotations into convenient divisions and subdivisions, each marked off with headings in distinctive types. No practitioner, in fact, could wish for a better-arranged commentary. Great credit is also due to Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co., the enterprising publishers of the work. The mechanical execution of the book—especially in the half-calf binding—is excellent. We have no doubt that in spite of a most formidable rival in Messrs. Woodroffe and Amir Ali's edition, Mr. Stoke's edition of this old favourite will successfully hold the field.

Mr. M. L. Agarwala, of the local High Court bar, has long been known to be an indefatigable commentator, annotator and compiler of a series of highly useful and valuable legal text-books and editions of important statutes. His latest work—*The Indian Practice*—follows the lines of his previous works in so far, that it is primarily designed for busy practitioners and judges. From this standpoint, it may safely be declared that of all the editions of the new Code of Civil Procedure issued so far, Mr. Agarwala's work is pre-eminently calculated to be of great use to the practitioner, who needs a systematic and well-digested repertory of precedents, to be referred to as occasions arise in the course of discussions at the bar. The author rightly claims for his method of annotation that "each noticeable point is given a prominent place and no note is so long that one would weary of going through it in order to find an authority." The lines on which Mr. Agarwala has compiled his work are those of the well-known "White Book" of English practitioners, the *Annual Practice*. Altogether, the practitioner who desires, a thoroughly up-to-date analytical digest of case-law on Civil Practices would do well to keep Mr. Agarwala's work handy for reference. The publisher of the book has done his part well and the printing and binding reflect credit on the resources of his press.

The late Mr. C. H. Sohoni's annotated edition of the Code of Criminal Procedure, was one of the most useful and deservedly

popular editions of the Code. The learned author died shortly after bringing out the fifth edition of his book, which he adapted to the present Code, Act V of 1898. The book soon went out of print and a new edition was in great demand. The publishers were very well advised in entrusting the work of revision to so competent a person as Dr. S. Swaminadhan of the Madras Law College, who had a distinguished scholastic career in Great Britain and America. The editor has brought to bear upon the book his great scholarship and the result is a work which in completeness, accuracy and arrangement stands unrivalled amongst the many editions of the Criminal Procedure Code. While principally designed for the busy practitioner, the editor claims—and in our opinion his claim is fully justified—that he has “striven hard to afford all reasonable facilities to stimulate the art of accurate thinking while on one's legs—an accomplishment but seldom exhibited in this country, even by the foremost men in the profession.” Madras is famous for high class printing and the printers, Messrs. Addison & Co., and the Poona publishers, are both to be heartily congratulated on the excellent get-up of this book, which is turned out with mechanical skill highly creditable to Indian printing and publishing firms. Dr. Swaminadhan's edition of this valuable and useful popular commentary—in its splendid format—will deservedly occupy a very prominent position on the bookshelf of the Criminal Court practitioners, Magistrates, Judges and Police Officers.

Dr. (now Sir) Ernest Trevelyan's new book on *Hindu Family Law*, is a work of great value to Civil Court lawyers and Judges. Since he retired from the bench of the Calcutta High Court, which he very worthily adorned, Sir Ernest has been a Reader in Indian Law in the University of Oxford. Some years back he brought out in collaboration with Mr. Arthur Phillip, long a distinguished member of the Calcutta bar, a useful work on *Hindu Wills*—which we noticed in terms of appreciation, at the time it was published. He has now presented a careful and accurate digest of the original texts, as interpreted by our Judges and modified by case-law, dealing with that most important branch which is concerned with the rules governing the Family Law of Hindus. The book seems to us to be modelled on the lines of that well-known work, Sir Rowland Wilson's *Anglo-Muhammadan Law*. There is nothing to take exception to, in the method adopted by the author: on the contrary, such a plan is calculated to convey to the student or the busy practitioner the information he seeks, in a more convenient form than that available in the treatises conceived on the old plan—of which Mayne's *Hindu Law* is the best known example. The work under notice covers, in some nine chapters, the whole range of Hindn Family Law, the statements dealing

with which are set forth categorically in the form of propositions, supplemented invariably by copious annotations and commentaries, which summarise in a systematic form the case-law on the subject. We have detected only one slight mistake, which bespeaks much for the accuracy of the book. Act XII of 1887, does not deal with the Civil Courts of Assam, Bengal, Behar and the "United Provinces," as stated on p. 3 of the book. It deals with the constitution of the Civil Courts in the Provinces of Assam, Bengal, Behar, and Agra (the late "North-Western Provinces") only—Oudh having a separate Act (XVIII of 1876), governing the constitution of its Civil Courts, and which is mentioned by the author on p. 4. Of the get-up of the book, it would be idle to say anything beyond stating that it fully maintains the reputation of Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., as that of the premier publishing firm in Northern India. We have much pleasure in commending to the legal public in this country Sir Ernest Trevelyan's *Hindu Family Law*, as a highly useful and valuable digest of an important branch of Hindu Law.

Sir Henry Cunningham's edition of the Indian Evidence Act has now been before the public for no less than thirty-five years and has passed through nearly a dozen editions. If good wine needs no bush, nor does such a work as the one under notice. The present edition (the eleventh) has been revised and overhauled by so competent an editor as Sir Horatio Shephard, M.A., LLD., late a distinguished Judge of the Madras High Court. We have tested the book carefully and have found it singularly complete and thoroughly brought up-to-date. Leaving aside the exhaustive works of Messrs. Woodroffe and Ameer Ali and of Dr. Field, on the Law of Evidence, we may safely say that Sir Henry Cunningham's Commentary on the Evidence Act has always appealed to us as the best of all the handy editions of the Code. That this is also the popular view, is evidenced by the large number of editions the book has passed through since it first saw the light. The present edition by Sir Horatio Shephard will not only fully sustain but enhance its reputation. The book has been turned out by the publishers—who are the leading firm in their line in Southern India—with all the skill in mechanical execution for which their workmanship is deservedly famous.

An exceedingly valuable contribution to Indian Medical Jurisprudence has been made by Major G. F. W. Ewen, M. D., in his highly interesting book—*Insanity in India: Its symptoms and Diagnosis, with Reference to the Relation of Crime and Insanity*. The learned author purposed "to give a brief but fairly accurate account of the symptoms and diagnosis of the types of insanity that usually come under one's notice in this country" and though

he confines himself only to "a clinical picture of the varieties met with" and does not discuss the pathology or in fact anything more than what is stated above, nevertheless his book covers a very large field and is, for all practical purposes, a comprehensive exposition of the many medical and medico-legal questions that frequently arise in both the Criminal and Civil Courts. Though the subject of Insanity is dealt with in all the text-books of Indian Medical Jurisprudence, Major Ewen's book is the first attempt at a separate exhaustive treatment of so important a branch of the subject, and we welcome it, therefore, with all the more pleasure. Though principally intended for medical men, the book is no less valuable to legal practitioners, Magistrates and Judges, and we can hardly imagine a law library as well-equipped, which does not contain Major Ewen's excellent and interesting book. It may be added that the author was for seven years in charge of one of the largest lunatic asylums in the country, that of Lahore and he has, therefore, bought to bear upon his book not only a vast knowledge of the subject but long practical experience "of the unfortunate beings who have committed some legal offence while suffering from mental disease."

A text-book on the Law of Interest has long been wanted by the legal profession in India and we are glad to find that Mr. Edmund Upton has at last supplied the *desideratum* in a way which leaves nothing to be desired. "It has been my endeavour," says the author, "to describe not only when, but why interest is awarded or refused by the Courts." But while not claiming for his "small work," more than that it is "an attempt to set forth the law as it is," the author has wisely enriched it with historical sketches in the first three chapters of (a) Usury in its relation to Law generally, (b) Usury Laws in England and in India and (c) in particular of the Usury Laws of British India until their repeal in 1855. These learned dissertations—for they are quite that—materially enhance the value of Mr. Upton's book, which as a statement and exposition of the Usury Laws as at present administered in India is an excellent piece of work, presenting as it does a careful and accurate digest of the law on the subject, as embodied in various statutes and as laid down in case-law. Further, it refers to all the leading English cases on the subject and it thus obviates the necessity, for all practical purposes, of reference to English text-books. We have much pleasure in commending Mr. Upton's *Principles of the Law of Interest* as a trustworthy compendium of the subject, which no Indian lawyer can do without.

One of the most beneficial measures passed by the Imperial Council in recent years was the Provincial Insolvency Act (III of

1907). An annotated edition of it was badly wanted by the practitioners in the Civil Courts in the *Mofussil*, and we are glad to find that the *desideratum* has been well supplied by the publication of Mr. A. P. Muddiman's edition of the Act. The editor, who is Registrar on the Appellate side of the Calcutta High Court, has done his work well. The annotations that he has made will be very useful in explaining the provisions of the new Act. We commend the book as a careful and accurate piece of work.

Mr. W. J. Howard has rendered a very useful service to Judges and practitioners in Civil Courts by his unearthing and publishing the "Memorandum of Practice in the Trial of Civil Suits," promulgated by the Calcutta High Court in 1876, but which has since been allowed to pass into oblivion. Now that the new Civil Procedure Code has been recast on the same lines as the "Memorandum," its text will be of great utility to all concerned in the administration of Civil Justice. No Judge or Civil Court practitioner should be without a copy of Mr. Howard's exceedingly useful little book.

A good edition of the *Oudh Rent Act* was badly wanted by the practitioners and officials of Revenue Courts in Oudh. This is now fully supplied by Messrs. Mata Prasad Sakseva and Maharaj Narayan Varma's edition of the Rent Act of Oudh. The editors have displayed considerable diligence in their work and have striven hard to make their commentary useful and instructive and we have pleasure in testifying that they have fully succeeded in their effort. The book is thoroughly up-to-date, and it will be of great utility to those who have either to administer or help in administering the law relating to Rent in the province of Oudh. The book is creditably got-up and is cheaply priced, both of which are additional recommendations in its favour.

Dr. Alma Latifi, of the Panjab Civil Service, is a devoted student of Public International Law and during his brilliant academic career at the Cambridge University and at the Inns of Court, London, he carried off more than one scholarship in the subject, the first fruits in the study of which, he has now placed before us. Dr. Westlake—one of the greatest living authorities on International Law—in the course of the chapter called a "Note"—contributed by him on "Belligerent Rights at Sea," to the book under notice, calls it a "valuable volume." Such commendation from Dr. Westlake is praise indeed. For ourselves, we are glad to find that Dr. Latifi's first venture in legal literature is marked by scholarship and learning of a high order. The book is not a *resume* of the works existing on the subject, but it is, to a large extent, an original contribution of great merit to some of the important branches of Public International Law. Dr. Alma Latifi's *Effects of War on Property* is a book which no student of Public International Law can afford to neglect. It is a work which redounds to the credit of not only the author, but the educated Indian.

CRITICISMS AND DISCUSSIONS.

N. B. - The contributions under this heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Review*. Criticism of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue. The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer.—ED.

(a)—A Plea for Social Reform.

BY MR. NAND KISHORE LAL, B. L.

SUCH is our deep-rooted conservatism that, as pointed out in a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review*, we are unable to diverge even one hairbreadth from the social institutions founded by our hoary ancestors of antediluvian time. What matters it for us if ages have passed away demolishing Governments in succession and bringing into existence influences completely changing the character, ideas and modes of life of mankind? What if our garments have become strange, antique, obsolete and out of order? We must put them on at any cost, unmindful of the taunts and jeers of our neighbours whom we, in our conceited idea of superiority, term 'unsophisticated barbarians.' The saying of Tennyson fall flat on our ears—

The old order changeth yielding place to new
And God fulfils himself in many ways
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

But the Laws of Nature cannot be trampled down with impunity and our perversity, therefore, has brought about results which are too painful to describe. Early marriages of our boys have degenerated our race. Our rigid adherence to 'touch' system and our abhorrence of foreign travel have made us inert, exclusive and stagnant, and have stifled in us the growth of that great quality—curiosity, without the cultivation of which no real progress in any branch of Industry can be made by any nation on the face of the globe. Our institution of hereditary caste system has, by producing jealousy and disunion, proved a real stumbling block in the path of our progress and enlightenment. Our segregation of females and their consequent total ignorance have shorn us of the quality of chivalry. In short, our degeneration is so complete that it hardly requires an argument to prove it. Go wherever you will, throughout the length and breadth of India, you will find nothing but ignorance, poverty and degradation.

Even our one great solace of religion is fast crumbling away beneath our feet. Hence we are lost both to God and man ; so that neither can we attain salvation in Heaven nor obtain the good things of this world.

How long, shall we continue in our task of self-destruction ? How long, I ask, shall we be at war with the Laws of Nature ? When shall we cease looking at things through the eyes of our venerable ancestors of days gone by ? And a disastrous fate would assuredly await us if we are to try the impossible task of regulating our affairs blindly through the tenets and maxims of our ancestors of the 'Golden Age.' In this age of wonders when the world is advancing at a tremendously rapid pace, how can we refuse to move without falling headlong into the abyss below ? How absurd it is to suppose that the old ways and methods of our ancestors will, without any modification whatsoever, enable us to compete with other nations in the solution of the great problem of 'the survivorship of the fittest ?' For instance, what hope is there that our crude and cumbrous method of handloom would successfully compete with machinery ? What hope that our old methods of conveyance would cope with the railway and the motor cars of the present age ? Again, what chance there is that our effete and worn-out institutions, which preclude us from foreign travel, would help us when all the nations of the world are freely exchanging their thoughts and ideas through mutual intercourse.

Let us open our eyes and shake off the lethargy of ages. Let us take inspiration from our near neighbours, the Japanese, and let no vain prejudice mar our future progress. True greatness depends not merely upon an idle vanity in the glorious doings of one's own ancestors but on increasing their name and fame by continuing and enhancing the civilisation they have left behind ; and this cannot be attained if we ignore the claims of the actual present, the surroundings in which we live, and the circumstances which govern us. But, unfortunately, this is the one fatal defect in our character which has brought us to the pitch in which we are and which keepeth us there. We are apt to regulate our life too rigidly according to the rules framed ages and ages ago.

Change is essential in the very nature of things, for without change this world would become stagnant and not worth living

in. It is, therefore, my earnest desire to impress on my countrymen the necessity of legalising foreign travel and abolishing the rotten institutions of caste and 'touch' and early marriage and other social evils which are the real hindrances in the path of our progress.

(b). **-Secularity and Religiosity in India**

By "ARYAVARMA."

In a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review*, an 'Indian Nationalist' has dealt with the 'History of Modern Europe' in an instructive manner. He points to two great ideas, running like an under-current throughout the whole History of Modern Europe, *i.e.*, Liberty and Secularity. It is with great respect for the deep scholarship of the 'Indian Nationalist,' that I beg to differ from him in one important point.

The writer lays great stress on the idea of Secularity as the great lesson which Modern History teaches us for our future guidance. Says he in the concluding paragraph of his learned article :

The whole trend of Modern Civilization is towards Secularity, and the sooner this fact is recognised in our country the better. The History of Europe shows us plainly what havoc can be wrought by religion, if it is allowed to intrude in the secular departments of life.

One is tempted, at the outset, to differ from the writer in the unwarranted freedom with which he applies to Indian circumstances the conclusions drawn from European History. The proverb 'East is East and West is West' should not be wholly lost sight of. What has given beneficial results to people of the European type need not necessarily be equally beneficial to Indians, who are differently constituted and circumstanced. It may, however, be urged on the other hand, that human nature is everywhere the same, that history repeats itself, and that people under given conditions and similar circumstances have suffered or prospered in much the same way all over the globe. The writer remarks :

To the European during the Middle Ages, as to millions in India to-day, religion was all in all.

Hence, following the analogy of the History of Modern Europe, the conclusion evidently is drawn that religion is bound to act as a dead weight upon all our efforts in the path of reform and progress. It is *here* that we beg to differ from the learned writer.

If 'religion' in Europe were practically the same thing as in India, there would be less room for differences of opinion. If the religion of the Vedas—the Fountain-head of Religion from the Hindu standpoint—had found an echo in the Bible, the conclusions drawn from European History would have been safely endorsed. But, as everybody knows, the two 'religions' stand as far apart as the poles. Hence, *prima facie*, the idea of Secularity cannot be as powerful or beneficent in India, as it has been in Europe.

What, then, is the attitude of the two 'religions'—the Vedic and the Biblical—towards Science, the handmaid of Modern Civilization? The Bible, it is well-known, abounds in glaring contradictions, in dogmas and fanciful myths, which are imply repugnant to a scientific mind. So long as the influence of the Bible was dominant over men's minds, the boldest speculations of Science remained a dead letter, and their originators subjected to bitter persecution. But Truth triumphed at last. The progress of Science has now dethroned the Bible from its high pedestal. In fact, it is now generally recognised that the teachings of the Bible are contrary to all Science. What wonder, then, that the idea of Secularity should find a congenial soil in the West to grow and flourish in. The mythological portions of our own *Puranas*—the chief scriptures of the present-day Hindus—fare no better, in this respect, than the Hebrew Puran. If the 'Indian Nationalist' meant by 'religion' the prevailing religion of the Hindus—I am writing on their behalf only—he is, to some extent, justified in advocating a boycott of 'religion' from "the secular departments of life." But the issues are wider and the question deeper, as is evident from a close study of the writer's remarks.

Let us now look to our ancient and true religion. By "true religion" I mean the religion as taught in the Vedas and in the Upanishads and other Shastras which derive their authority from the Vedas. And it may be asserted without fear of contradiction, that of all the religions of the world, the Vedic is the most scientific. The Vedas are the store-house of the various sciences and Vedic teaching is in perfect harmony with the great truths of Science. The Vedas inculcate those "eternal principles which govern nature and man, those immutable laws which in one sphere are called 'Science', in another 'true philosophy.'" Unlike other religions, Vedic theology is based upon

Science and Philosophy. This great Aryan religion is a happy combination of Science, Philosophy, Theology, Morality and Art. If this be true, and it will perhaps appear doubtful to those of our educated countrymen who derive their inspiration from the so-called Oriental scholars of Europe,—a fact at once humiliating and denationalising—if the Vedic religion is really what it claims to be, then, indeed, there is little danger of its working a havoc in the spheres of Science, Art, Morality and Politics. On the contrary, these sciences, by their union with the Vedic religion, derive their sanction not only from the highest but also the most scientific authority. Truth is eternal and is not affected by limitations of Time and Space. Take your astronomy or politics, your code of morals or social polity from the Vedic sources, you stand little chance of being ridiculed as 'fossilised' or 'antiquated.' As a matter of fact, Religion did dominate over these sciences in Ancient India, but it only ennobled them all the more. It gave the arts and sciences an æsthetic or spiritual turn and saved them from becoming 'gross,' 'profane' or purely 'materialistic.' Vedic religion, instead of proving an obstacle, was always the patron of Art and Science.

We find that the idea of Secularity has grown so powerful in Europe, chiefly because the religion of the Bible could not satisfy the spiritual requirements of the thinking minds, and because its plausible theories and dogmas were exploded and shattered under the ruthless wheel of logic. The inevitable result was that many of the best minds in Europe began to lose their faith in a Revelation, a Supreme Being and a Divine Government. Says Mill, the greatest thinker of his day in England, in his *Essays on Religion* :

The divine message, assuming it to be such, has been authenticated by credentials so insufficient that they fail to convince a large proportion of the strongest and cultivated minds.

And again :

The notion of a providential government by an omnipotent being for the good of his creatures must be entirely dismissed.

This was written about half a century ago, and the verdict of the most candid Rationalists of to-day echoes the same sentiment. Mr. Philip Vivian writes thus in his new book, *Churches and Modern Thought* (page 362) :

Belief (in supernatural), indeed, is strikingly analogous to an organ which, owing to its having no further useful purpose, has atrophied and become

rudimentary. It may have served some purpose in bygone ages; but now, in its present state it is a source of weakness like the splint bone of a horse.

These remarks apply, of course, to the Christian religion as taught in the Bible, but could not possibly be based upon a close study of the Vedic religion and theology. The flimsy foundation of the Biblical doctrines has given rise to various schools of Heterodoxy like Sceptics, Atheists, Agnostics and Rationalists. Their influence has proved a potent factor in establishing the supremacy of the idea of Secularity during recent times. But though the Christian religion is declining in Europe, Secularity has not proved an unmixed blessing. Serious and thoughtful students of Western civilization tell us that in Europe selfishness and greed rule supreme. The Almighty Dollar and its illegitimate child Pecuniomania reign over the hearts of men. In spite of the tall talk of 'social efficiency,' 'classes' are oppressing the 'misses.' The average European is not much of a God-fearing individual. Life has no goal beyond immediate enjoyment. Spirituality is conspicuous by its absence. Expediency is the rule of action. "Godlessness is responsible for 'extreme socialism,' 'anarchism' and 'nihilism'." The beautiful 'sermon on the Mount' is honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Well may one cry out "Save us from this trend of Western civilization."

Let us now take stock of ourselves. We are to-day, as a race, in the depth of degradation. We are diagnosed to have suffered from an 'overdose of religiosity.' Overdose it may be, but certainly not of the right kind. We have, unfortunately, lost the *true spirit* of religion. We only stick to certain forms of it—mere husk without the kernel. We profess to follow a religion, but never realise its true significance. Religion has long ceased to be our true guide, philosopher and friend. But it is generally supposed, that, with the millions in India, religion is all in all. To us, it is a piece of news, too good to believe. A closer examination, however, dispels the illusion. It may be pertinently asked "Was not religion 'all in all' when Indians occupied the foremost place in the scale of nations?" In fact, we know for certain that arts and sciences flourished and Indians reached the zenith of their civilization, while yet they were the most religious people on the face of the earth and religion dominated every sphere of their activity. Surely then there must be something *rotten* in the domain of Religion in India.

And the evil is not far to seek. We have neglected and forgotten our simple and grand religion. We have drifted far and wide from its elevating ideals. We are to-day burning incense at the altars of Ceremonial, Superstition, Mythology, Hypocrisy and Mammon. How mighty has been our wreck! The only wise course, then, for us to follow is, if we are true to ourselves, to fall back upon the original sources of our real faith. What else on earth can inspire us with high ideas and ideals and fire us with righteous enthusiasm? Our history points to our religion as the 'saviour' of our race. If European history points to the idea of Secularity, our own history bears eloquent testimony to the value of Religiosity. Our religion, through all the vicissitudes of our civilization, has been our mainstay and saved us from the fate of the ancient Greeks and Romans. And religion too--corrupted and misunderstood--has brought its votaries down with itself in India. The true remedy for our national regeneration, therefore, lies in imbibing the true spirit of the once glorious religion of the Vedic India.

One word more about the true sphere of Religion. We are told that in Europe 'Religion' is only a matter between a man and his (optional?) Deity. Then, in truth, it hardly deserves the name. For Religion, in its proper sense, is neither a product of human imagination, nor is it dictated by our hopes and fears, nor dependent upon individual convictions. It is something rational, permanent and universal. True Religion is a solution of the mystery of life and death, of life after death, of self, of Universe and a Supreme Being with their mutual relations. It points to our Destiny, prescribes a course of conduct and the ideals of life and enunciates our duties and responsibilities. Such a Religion, when followed sincerely, cannot but influence our whole life and color every transaction of it. Its neglect leads men astray from the path of true happiness and involves them in sin and suffering, in the last resort as an individual, and in the long run as a people. The thoughtful in Europe have now begun to realise the utter dearth of spirituality and its dangers. Here, at least, Europe has much to learn from India. In our present state we have also to learn much from Europe in the way of 'public spirit', 'industrialism' and 'love of freedom.' But that is no reason why we should endeavour to minimise the impor-

tance of Religion in our national life. On the contrary, our reformers and patriots should encourage all efforts towards spreading a knowledge of the true religion among the masses of India ; and more so, because our ancient religion has, in the course of thousands of years, been split up into hundreds of mutually conflicting sects, with their endless rites and ceremonies. We venture to assert that without an honest and thorough study of the Vedas and Vedic literature, one cannot be in a position to 'sound' or 'fathom' the ocean of Religion. The claims of the Vedas for universal homage will doubtless advance with their study in the right spirit, and the sway of true religion will increase proportionately. But if our national leaders advise us to follow indiscriminately the 'ruling ideas of European history,' they have read the 'religious' history of India in vain.

Our Last Issue.

Capital writes :—

The current number of the *Hindustan Review* is up to mark in dealing with the living subjects of the day, as a glance at its table of contents will show. The reviews of books which form a feature in the *Hindustan Review* are distinctly well done.

The Indian Daily Telegraph writes :—

There is a plethora of political articles in the January issue of the *Hindustan Review*, and the question of Indian nationalism, now so much in the foreground, is discussed from many standpoints—though, unfortunately, the problem still remains unsolved. In one portion of this issue, Mr. Ali Imam's address at the All-India Muslim League is subjected to keen criticism and Mahomedans are told that they have, at length, resorted to agitation ; while in another, an "Indian Mussulman" taunts his countrymen with holding aloof from the Congress and accuses them of getting an equal share of privileges without stirring a finger. Mr. Sasi Bhushan Mukerji decides that the failure of Indians to reach a common ideal is due to unsympathetic rulers, and in "Indian Higher Education : A Criticism.—I" the Rev. Prof. C. F. Andrews, M.A., treats of the matter from the national point of view, and gives much salient advice. There are other attractive papers in this issue which is, as usual, well written and full of interest.

The Hindu writes :—

The *Hindustan Review* for the current month is a rich number. The first article is from the pen of the Rev. Professor C. F. Andrews, M.A., on "Indian Higher Education." This contribution which is the first of a series which he proposes to write on the subject, is a remarkable one and well deserves a careful study from every Indian politician. "The Indian struggle in the Transvaal"—that ever-fresh wound for which the Imperial Government have not the boldness to apply a bold remedy—is treated by Mr. L. W. Ritch, Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee with an earnestness and sincerity which cannot but command universal interest. There are other articles which well deserve perusal.

The Indian Patriot writes :—

The January number of the *Hindustan Review* is a very interesting issue. It opens with a valuable paper from Rev. Professor C. F. Andrews on Indian High Education, and it is a paper which, as are the Rev. Professor's other articles, is exceedingly sympathetic and well-written. The Indian struggle in the Transvaal is a touching story of woe and disabilities under which our countrymen suffer yonder there. 'John Morley in politics' is a very readable article, and it will be found reproduced in these pages. There are several other articles of interest, and a sketch of Mr. Justice Mitra, a study of Indian nationalism, proposed Parsi Academy, Indian Mussalman and Indian politics. As an Indian sees America, 'study of history' are all good articles. The Editor, Mr. Sinha, has been making his review every month more and more interesting.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—“I will be as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard.” (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*).

MOTTO II.—“Minds may doubt and hearts may fail, when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange.” (From Dr. Illingworth’s *Reason and Revelation*).

WE are not surprised to learn that the citizens of Arrah in a public meeting assembled thanked the Government **Rai Bahadur** for conferring on their fellow-citizen, Babu Chaturbhuj Sahai, the title of Rai Bahadur on the last New Year’s day. Babu Chaturbhuj Sahai has been for a long series of years a distinguished and prominent public man in the province of Behar. He is an ex-member of the Lower Provinces Legislative Council and public opinion in Behar is unanimous that of all the Beharees who have hitherto been returned as elected representatives of the people to the Provincial Legislative Council, B. Chaturbhuj Sahai’s record as a councillor is the most creditable. He was for many years the Chairman of the Arrah Municipal Corporation and has been for nearly a quarter of a century the acknowledged leader of the Arrah Bar. Such a career well deserved the recognition that the Government have been pleased to bestow. We sincerely congratulate Rai Bahadur Chaturbhuj Sahai, and hope he will long be spared to enjoy the honour.

The twentieth session of the Kayastha Conference—or rather the first session of the reconstituted **The Kayastha Conference** Kayastha Educational Conference—will be held during the next Easter and Good-Friday holidays which will last from the 9th to the 12th of April. A strong Reception Committee has been formed with M. Govind Prasada Saheb as president, M. Gulzari Lal Saheb as Secretary and M. Kamta Prasada Saheb “Dana” of Gwalior as Joint-Secretary. A Social Reform Committee has also been organized to determine and carry on that portion of the work of the forthcoming Conference which relates to Social Reform in the

community. Now that the conference is believed to have shaken off the fetters which bound it to traditions and practices which were calculated to mar its utility, it is to be hoped that it will receive the sympathy and co-operation of even that advanced section of the community which for the reason referred to above has hitherto felt compelled to fight shy of the Conference.

We are glad to learn that a Kayastha student has succeeded in obtaining the State Technical scholarship for learning dyeing and calico printing in Manchester, given by the Government of the United Provinces. Mr. Jawala Prasad Srivastava, Ex-student of the Muir Central College, Allahabad, is the son of Munshi Janki Prasad Saheb, retired Tahsildar and resident of Bansi in the district of Basti. He is now studying in the Municipal School of Technology in Manchester. The scholarship of £150 per annum will be tenable for two years. We wish Mr. Jawala Prasad every success.

Further we are very pleased to note that the members of his family have displayed great moral courage in allowing Mrs. Jawala Prasad to accompany her husband to England. We believe Mrs. Jawala Prasad is the first Kayastha lady of the Srivastava section who has gone to England. She is the daughter of the late Munshi Mahadeo Prasada Saheb, Deputy Collector of Kasba Sondhi in the Jaunpore district.

We are deeply grieved to learn of the sad and untimely death of Mr. Rati Lal Brij Lal Mazumdar, The late Mr. Mazumdar. Barrister-at-law, and a prominent member of the Valmik section of the community of Bombay. The deceased always took keen interest in all matters calculated to advance social and educational reform in the community. He was present at the first Kayastha Conference held at Lucknow, and in recent years had also been of great service to the Cogress. He had been Captain of the Congress Volunteers for some years past, and it was mainly through his and his party's exertions that the infuriated extremists at the Surat Congress were prevented from rushing to the platform in large numbers and causing personal harm to the Moderate leaders. The premature death of Mr. Mazumdar is thus not

only a loss to the Kayastha community, but to the public in general. We offer our sincerest condolence to the members of the deceased's family.

In the course of the survey of "Literature and the Press" in the *Administration Report* of the United Provinces for the year 1907-8 which has just been published, we find it stated that of the five journals (one English, one Hindi, and three Urdu), the last, namely, *Hind* of Lucknow, *Rastgo* and *Swarajya* of Allahabad, all edited by Kayasthas and all now extinct, "attracted particular attention owing to their tone and the views they expressed." It also appears that "it was found necessary to warn the editors" of some of the papers including the *Rastgo*. The Report further declares that "objectionable articles were noticed" in several papers amongst which were the *Awazai Khalq*, Benares, (also edited by a Kayastha) and *Swarajya*.

**A Kayastha
Donor.**

Our local contemporary, the *Indian People*, has the following appreciative paragraph about M. Ishwari Prasada of Gorakhpore :—

Mr. Molony, the popular Collector of Gorakhpore, opened the new English school on the 6th of January, 1909. One more school was badly wanted at Gorakhpore, and we are pleased to learn that this keenly-felt want has been removed. This school is the result of private enterprise and activity, but we feel much satisfaction that the Government will also help this institution. It is also very gratifying that the Hindus and the Mahomedans have both heartily co-operated in bringing this institution into existence. Gorakhpore is peculiarly fortunate in as much as the members of these two great communities there, in all public matters, work in union and harmony. In connection with this matter we wish to make especial mention of the liberality of Babu Ishwari Prasad, Municipal Commissioner. He has paid the handsome donation of rupees ten thousand for the school-building, which is, we understand, to be called 'Ishwari Manzil.' Babu Ishwari Prasad has built a boarding house for the Hindu students of the Gorakhpore Jubilee High School in memory of his late father and he has also paid for the building of a room in the boarding house of the Kayastha Patshala. If the example set by this worthy gentleman will be followed by the residents of Gorakhpore, we are certain this new school will not suffer for want of funds.

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